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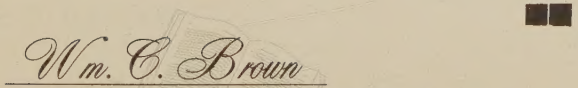
THE ARTS COURSE AT MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GRAMMAR AND RHETORIC

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

BY

LOUIS JOHN PAETOW

CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS
1910



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INTRODUCTION.

The arts course at medieval universities was named after the traditional seven liberal arts which had come down as a heritage from Greek and Roman times and had been taught in all the schools of the Middle Ages. They were classified into two groups, the *trivium*: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic; and the *quadrivium*: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music.[1] A common belief is that these subjects were taught in the arts course of universities in very much the same way as they had been in the lesser medieval schools. Such a conception is dangerously erroneous because it helps to obscure one of the greatest intellectual and educational revolutions in history, that which occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and was the direct cause for the rise of universities. Its chief features were interest in logic or dialectic and philosophy, the systematization of theology, the rise of canon law and Roman civil law and of medicine.[2]

This revolution had a most decided effect upon the seven liberal arts. Dialectic or logic became so important that it tended to obscure all the other arts. It was taught almost wholly on the basis of Latin translations of the books of Aristotle. Up to about the end of the twelfth century only a very few of his works were known; but then came the influx of the "New Aristotle" from the East and through Moorish Spain, and soon the western world possessed in translations almost all his extant

[1]The following are the best special treatises on the seven liberal arts:—Meier, *Die Sieben Freien Künste im Mittelalter;* Parker, "The Seven Liberal Arts", *English Historical Review,* V, 417-461; Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts;* Appuhn, *Das Trivium und Quadrivium in Theorie und Praxis.* Erster Theil—*Das Trivium;* Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts. A Study in Mediaeval Culture.*

[2]At the universities the three higher faculties came to be theology, law, and medicine. The arts course was decidedly affected by this classification because to a considerable degree it was considered as merely preparatory work for the higher faculties.

works.[3] His books so fascinated that age that they formed the basis of almost all the instruction in the arts course at the medieval universities. Into a discussion of this major portion of the course I shall not enter. Its outward features have been fairly well depicted in the various histories of universities, and a deeper investigation into its method, aim and object leads into the realm of scholastic philosophy which is entirely beyond my scope.[4]

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a distinct revival of interest in science, one manifestation of which was the development of medicine.[5] This augured well for the development of the subjects of the *quadrivium* and for a time they were borne along with the tide of the new intellectual movement. But it was not long before they sadly lagged behind and there was very little real scientific interest until the fifteenth century.[6] At Paris and other French universities the *quadrivium* was almost entirely obscured during the latter thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries.[7] At Oxford the theory and practice of the seven liberal

[3]On the introduction of the "New Aristotle" see especially, Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant,* xvii-lxxiv; and Luquet, *Aristote et l'Université de Paris pendant le XIIIe siècle.*

[4]For a typical but practically unknown program of the work done in the arts course at medieval universities see Appendix I.

[5]See below, p. 25.

[6]Music occupies a somewhat unique position. Owing largely to its utility in the church service, it developed steadily during our period but mostly outside of the arts course at universities. Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden,* 424; Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts,* 128.

[7]During the first half of the thirteenth century, preachers sometimes warned the students of Paris against devoting themselves too much to geometry and astronomy. (Haskins, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.,* X, 9 and 11.) A statute of 1215 still mentions the *quadrivium* at the University of Paris. (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 78.) The statutes of 1255 say nothing more about it. (*Chartularium,* I, 278.) Some time before 1366 a bachelor about to be licensed was obliged to take oath that he had heard one hundred lectures on mathematics. The faculty interpreted this to mean that he had read one whole book on the subject such as the *De Sphaera Mundi* of John of Holywood and had begun another (*Chartularium,* II, 678.). The statutes of 1366 simply require "some mathematical" books for the license (*Chartularium,* III, 145). In the year 1378 King Charles V appointed two masters of arts at the University of Paris who were to devote themselves

arts was somewhat better preserved and the *quadrivium* was at all times more in vogue than at Paris but not to any considerable extent.[8] In Italy it was not until late in the fourteenth century that scientific instruction became at all important at Bologna and other universities.[9] No doubt much might still be done to make clearer the instruction in sciences at medieval universities on the basis of the *quadrivium,* or at least to explain more fully the causes for its neglect, but that task will not be attempted here.

Of the seven liberal arts grammar and rhetoric alone are left, and they will constitute the main subjects of this investigation. On the face of it the quest seems barren enough, and indeed, we shall have to content ourselves with mere gleanings. Nevertheless the task will be worth while, for although the outward history of medieval universities as institutions is now very well known, we are still very far from comprehending the aim and object and general trend of the actual instruction which was given, and this is true especially of the arts course. In order to understand the revival of classical learning which was such an

entirely to mathematics and astronomy but the venture did not succeed and thus not even mathematics ever rose to respectability at the great French university. (Günther, *Geschichte des mathematischen Unterrichts im deutschen Mittelalter,* 266; see also Thurot, *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris,* 81.)

[8]In the thirteenth century the Minorite School at Oxford was exceptional for the stress it laid on scientific as well as literary studies. Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden,* 417, 423-24. The university statutes of 1408 prescribed some mathematical books and in 1431 a candidate for a degree was required to have read a considerable number of books in all the seven arts including the *quadrivium* (*Munimenta Academica,* ed. Anstey, 241, 285. See also Rashdall, *Universities,* II, 455-458.)

[9]Little is known about the *quadrivium* at Bologna in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Sarti-Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus,* I, 584.). In 1383 a master was appointed whose sole business it was to teach arithmetic. (Günther, *Geschichte des mathematischen Unterrichts,* 220.) At Bologna, astrology was the name given to the whole scope of mathematical instruction. In 1405 a four years' course in arithmetic, geometry and astronomy was outlined which is remarkable for breadth and thoroughness (Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese,* 276. The program is explained by Rashdall, *Universities,* I, 249.).

important factor of the Renaissance, it is absolutely necessary to know the history of the study of language and literature at medieval universities. Because of a lack of such understanding the revival of learning on the one hand and medieval culture on the other have often been sadly misinterpreted.

We shall concentrate our attention upon the first two centuries of university history or very roughly to about 1350. The investigation will be almost wholly confined to the French universities, especially Paris and Toulouse, and to Bologna in Italy. Oxford and Cambridge did not differ very much from Paris and the first German universities were not founded until the middle of the fourteenth century.

It is not possible to name and characterize briefly the books which have been used because a large number of them lie in fields other than history, such as philology, philosophy, law, literature and education. A critical bibliography is appended.

CHAPTER I.

The Neglect of the Ancient Classics at Medieval Universities

To a modern reader the arts course at medieval universities can be interpreted to some extent by a discussion of the things it did not contain. There was an entire lack of experimental sciences, of modern languages as well as history and the other so-called social sciences, but the most remarkable omission was that of the ancient classics, especially the Latin classics.[1] Since Latin was the language used for instruction in all the schools, the reading of the classics would not have been so difficult as it is for us. Nevertheless not one of them is prescribed in the statutes of the various universities of Europe of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The statutes furnish meagre information but all our other sources corroborate the well established truth that the ancient authors were almost entirely neglected at the medieval universities.

This striking phenomenon has attracted much attention ever since the rise of humanism in the fourteenth century. In accounting for it many serious writers have entirely misinterpreted medieval culture and education. Until recently the books dismissed the subject by dwelling upon the utter barrenness of classical as well as of all other lay learning in the Middle Ages, and thus intimating that nothing better could have been expected from the work at the universities. Today no competent scholar would pronounce such a verdict. It has become customary to speak of a "Twelfth Century Renaissance"[2] and it is now well established

[1] In this paper ancient classics will be used as synonymous with Latin classics for throughout our period, Greek, although studied by individuals like Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon, was almost wholly unknown in the schools. For a short but convenient bibliography on Greek in the Middle Ages see Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, 361. Cf. also Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, *passim*; Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, II, 666 note; Bäbler, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Grammatik im Mittelalter*, 67-73; Loomis, *Medieval Hellenism*.

[2] "Medieval Renaissance" would be a better term because most of the movements which began in the eleventh and twelfth centuries did not culminate until the thirteenth century.

that an important phase of this earlier Renaissance was a distinct revival of the ancient classics. It will serve our purpose to investigate this movement in some detail.

It is a well known fact that the ancient authors were not entirely forgotten at any time during the Middle Ages and that there were even periods of distinct revival as early as the time of Charlemagne and of the Ottos in Germany. These earlier movements, however, seem sporadic when compared with the revival in the twelfth century. Its home was northern France and our surest and most complete information in regard to it comes in shortly after the first crusade. "I see villages and towns fairly burn with eagerness in the study of grammar" writes Guibert of Nogent in the preface to his history of the crusade.[3] In another passage[4] he says that the remarkable enthusiasm for grammar had sprung up during his life-time, for he remembered the day when even in the cities hardly anyone could be found who in learning could be compared with a mere hedgepriest of modern times (*moderni temporis.*)

The center of the study of the classics was Chartres.[5] As early as the beginning of the eleventh century its schools gained renown under the learned bishop Fulbert (d. 1029). Ivo (d. 1115) was his next great successor and he was followed in the first half of the twelfth century by Bernard, Gilbert de la Porrée, and Theodoric. During the period from 1090, when Ivo became bishop, until 1150, the approximate date of Theodoric's death, the schools of Chartres were at the height of their glory. A famous program of studies, the *Eptateuchon* of Theodoric, reveals how the seven liberal arts had broadened and deepened into a very comprehensive course of instruction.[6] Especial attention was given to grammar which was studied in the broad sense in accordance with the

[3]"Et villas video, urbes, ac oppida studiis fervere grammaticæ." *Gesta dei per Francos* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist. Occidentaux,* IV, 118; see also p. 120. Guibert died in 1124.

[4]Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* I, 32 and note 2.

[5]Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres.* Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought,* chs. IV and VII.

[6]Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres,* 222.

definition of Rabanus Maurus who called it "The art of explaining poets and historians, the art of correct speaking and writing."[7] In a word, Chartres was a truly humanistic center where flourished the belles lettres based on a sympathetic study of the ancient classics. Its fame attracted many students, especially the English, of whom there was a regular colony. Chief among them was John of Salisbury, who has left us a glowing picture of the breadth and thoroughness of the humanistic teaching of his master Bernard.[8] John himself was an ardent admirer of Cicero. In his enthusiasm he exclaims, "The Latin world produced no greater man than Cicero."[9] Nobody has ever studied John of Salisbury without associating him with Petrarch.

After 1150, however, the schools of Chartres declined rapidly, because they were eclipsed by those of Paris. Thereafter Orleans became the most famous seat of classical learning.[10] We have less detailed knowledge about Orleans than about Chartres, but there is enough evidence to show that the humanists of Orleans were famous until the middle of the thirteenth century.

Meanwhile the universities were taking shape. The intellectual vigor of the twelfth century was finding its expression in these new splendid institutions of learning. We should expect that the classics would have had their share in the profit of this general mental uplift and that they would have found a still wider scope at the new universities especially at Paris which was in such close touch with Chartres and Orleans. But this was not to be, because that age developed other intellectual interests which crowded out the literary classical studies. All the greatest intel-

[7]Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens,* 86. Rabanus Maurus (776-856) accepted Quintilian's (c. 35-95 A. D.) definition of grammar, "recte loquendi scientia, poetarum enarratio," *De Institutio Orat.,* I, c. IV. Cf. Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli,* p. lxviii.

[8]*Metalogicus,* I, 24. Cf. Clerval, p. 225, and Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis.*

[9]"Orbis nil habuit maius Cicerone Latinus." *Entheticus,* line 1215, Migne, *Patrologiae Lat.,* 199, 992.

[10]Delisle, "Les Ecoles d'Orléans au Douzième et au Treizième Siècle," in *Annuaire Bull. de la Soc. de l'Histoire de France,* VII (1869), 139-154.

lects were bending their best efforts towards dialectic, scholastic philosophy and theology, or the practical studies of law and medicine. Probably a university could never have arisen on a purely humanistic basis. It required an Abelard and an Irnerius to lay the foundations of universities.

From the very start, therefore, the classics were overshadowed at these new institutions by more popular studies. Nevertheless, for a long time they still held their own. At about the beginning of the thirteenth century various writers associated Orleans with the great universities of the day. "Let Paris be proud of her logic and Orleans of her authors" wrote the poet Matthew of Vendôme who died about 1200.[11] Two other writers, the poet Geoffrey de Vinsauf and the monk Helinand inform us that as Salerno was known for medicine, Bologna for law, Paris for arts, so Orleans was famous for its study of the ancient authors.[12] The Englishman Alexander Neckam (1157-1217), who spent much time at Paris, bestowed unstinted praise upon Orleans and its humanistic instruction. These are his words, "Parnassus itself cannot compare with thee, Orleans; the double summit of Parnassus yields to thee. I think that in no other city the songs of the Muses, watched over with so much zeal, are better interpreted."[13] Evi-

[11] "Parisius logicam sibi iactitet, Aurelianis Auctores: elegos Vindocinense solum." *Poetical formulary,* vv. 33-34, ed. Wattenbach, in *Sitzungsberichte d. Bayrischen Akademie,* 1872, II, 571. Quoted by Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa,* II, 726.

[12] "In morbis sanat medici virtute Salernum
Aegros. In causis Bononia legibus armat
Nudos. Parisius dispensat in artibus illos
Panes, unde cibat robustos. Aurelianis
Educat in cunis autorum lacte tenellos."

Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Poetria nova,* vv. 1009 ff. (addressed to Pope Innocent III, 1198-1216). Quoted by Delisle, "Les Ecoles d'Orléans," 144. Ed. Leyser, *Historia Poetarum,* 920, vv. 1009-1013.

"Ecce quaerunt clerici Parisiis artes liberales, Aurelianis auctores, Bononiae codices, Salerni pyxides, Toleti daemones et nusquam mores." Helinand, in a sermon before the students of the University of Toulouse in 1229. (Often quoted, e. g. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa,* II, 726.)

[13] "Non se Parnassus tibi conferat, Aurelianis,
Parnassi vertex cedet uterque tibi.

dently these men believed that the classics would keep their rank among the prominent intellectual pursuits of that day and that Orleans would be the seat of a university where humanistic studies would occupy the chief place in the curriculum.[14]

The study of the ancient authors was by no means confined to Orleans. Even at Paris they still flourished towards the end of the twelfth century. The Welshman Gerald de Barri tells us that he studied and taught them there.[15] Sermons were still being preached before the students of Paris warning them against the dangers of the heathen literature of Rome.[16] Peter of Blois wrote to a professor at the university of Paris: "Priscian and Cicero, Lucan and Persius, these are your gods."[17] An anonymous descriptive vocabulary of terms relating to the church, the court and learning preserved in a manuscript in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, seems to throw a flood of light on the classical studies at Paris just before the opening of the thirteenth century.[18] By means of a skillful examination of internal evidence, Professor Haskins has shown that in all probability the

Carmina Pieridum, multo vigilata labore,
Exponi nulla certius urbe reor."

De laudibus divinae sapientiae, vv. 607-610, in *De naturis rerum,* ed. Wright, 454. (Quoted by Delisle," "Les Ecoles d'Orléans," 146.)

[14]The following translation of an extract from a student's letter taken from the *Summa Magistri Guidonis* (written probably at Orleans in the first half of the thirteenth century) will help to emphasize the fact that Orleans was known as a humanistic center:—"I have been a long time at Paris and I have learned from many testimonies that the knowledge of the authors redounds singularly to the honor of those who possess it. I have therefore come to Orleans with the intention of making some progress in this study, and I hope to succeed if I have the books." Delisle, "Les Ecoles d'Orléans," 142.

[15]Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae, Prooemium,* ed. Brewer, IV, 3; *De Rebus a se Gestis, Ibid.,* I, 23, 45.

[16]See below, p. 21.

[17]Petri Blesensis, *Opera Omnia,* Migne, *Patrologiae Lat.,* 207, Epist. VI, p. 18.

[18]Haskins, "A List of Text-books from the Close of the Twelfth Century." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* XX (1909), 75-94. Professor Haskins has edited (pp. 90-94) the most significant portion of the manuscript, that which deals with the learning of the time. He cites the vocabulary by its opening words, *Sacerdos ad altare accessurus.*

vocabulary was written by Alexander Neckam (1157-1217) who studied and taught at Paris many years between 1175 and 1195, and that for this and other reasons the picture which it gives of the learning of the day may with much probability be taken to reflect the work done at Paris. The most interesting portion of the vocabulary is a long list of books prescribed for every grade and subject of instruction: elementary work, the seven liberal arts and the higher branches of learning, medicine, law and theology. Along with the well known school books of the time, a very considerable number of classical authors are mentioned, such as Statius, Virgil, Lucan, Juvenal, Horace, Ovid, Sallust, Cicero, Martial, Petronius, Symmachus, Suetonius, Livy and Seneca. Although we cannot affirm absolutely that the works of all these authors were regularly read at Paris, nevertheless this vocabulary clearly shows that about 1200 the study of the classics was still associated with the branches taught at the rising universities.

Within the first half of the thirteenth century, however, interest in the classics waned rapidly. In 1234, John Garland, a professor of grammar at Paris, still warmly espoused the cause of Orleans, but in the same breath he lamented that the ancient authors were being neglected. "Aid me," he writes, "illustrious poets, whom golden renown matches with gold, you whom the city of Orleans attracts from all the regions of the world, you, the glory of the fountain of Hippocrene. God has chosen you to sustain the edifice of eloquence shaken to its very foundations; for the Latin language is decaying, the green fields of the authors are withering and the jealous blast of Boreas has blighted the flowery meadows."[19]

[19] "Vos vates magni quos aurea comparet auro
Fama, favete mihi, quos Aurelianis ab urbe [*sic*]
Orbe trahit toto, pegasei gloria fontis.
Vos Deus elegit, per quos fundamina firma
Astent eloquii studio succurrere, cujus
Fundamenta labant: emarcet lingua latina,
Autorum vernans exaruit area, pratum
Florigerum boreas flatu livente perussit."

Ars lectoria ecclesiae (*Accentarius*), Bruges MS. 456, fol. 76 v°. This extract is also printed in Scheler, *Lexicographie Latine du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle*, 9.

John Garland deserves to be rescued from obscurity. He was the last humanist or would-be humanist at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century. An Englishman by birth, he came to Paris, where he studied and taught until the great dispersion of the university in 1229. Then he went to Toulouse to become a professor of grammar at the newly founded university. Dissatisfied with conditions there, he returned to Paris in 1232 and taught grammar until his death which probably occurred shortly after 1252.[20] He was a voluminous writer. A large number of his works are grammatical treatises. Most of them are still unpublished and have never been examined critically. Even a hasty perusual of his writings will satisfy anybody that he had little of the humanistic spirit which characterized John of Salisbury or Peter of Blois. In all probability he was but slightly acquainted with the ancient classics. Nevertheless he championed them as we have seen from the above quotation. In another work, the *Morale Scholarium,* written about 1240,[21]

[20]For accounts of his life and works see, Hauréau, "Notices sur les oeuvres authentique ou supposées de Jean de Garlande," in *Notices et Extraits,* XXVII, pt. 2, 1-86 (1877); Wright (ed), *De Triumphis Ecclesiae,* Preface, (Roxburghe Club, 1856); Gatien-Arnoult, "Jean de Garlande," *Revue de Toulouse,* 23, (1866), 117 ff; article in *Dictionary of National Biography;* Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship,* I, 549 ff.; Reichling, *Das Doctrinale, passim,* see Register, p. cxiii; Haskins, "A List of Text-books from the Close of the Twelfth Century," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* XX (1909), 76-78; Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungsgeschichte,* 1909.

[21]Bruges MS. 546, fol. 2 seq.; Gonville and Caius, Cambridge MS. 385, pp. 302-316. Professor Haskins of Harvard has found a third manuscript copy of the *Morale Scholarium,* Bodleian MS. Rawlinson G. 96, pp. 154-176, which I have not consulted. This work was written between 1238 and 1244. In it Odo is addressed as chancellor; Bruges MS. 546, fol. 6 v°; Gonville and Caius MS. 385, p. 312. Odo de Castro Radulphi (Eudes de Château roux) was chancellor of Notre Dame 1238-1244; Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis,* I, xx, note. The above date is rendered more certain by the fact that on the folio and page just referred to, there is a reference to a riot in Orleans in which several students were killed. Matthew Paris tells us that such a riot took place at Orleans in 1236; see Denifle, *Die Universitäten,* I, 251, note 135; 260-261; 758, note 19. Denifle's conjecture that 1236 should be 1241-42 is wrong; see Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe,* II, 141, note 1. Professor Haskins has called my atten-

he again praised them and condemned such works as aimed at belittling Helicon,[22] "Where the authors flourish," he says, probably having Orleans in mind, "the doctors profit by it and their writings are much improved."[23] He singles out a certain Galfridus[24] and a certain Galterus[25] for high praise as poets, calling the latter an athlete of Pallas, in name and in deed a poet.[26] Then he pleads for reform, the evil tendencies of the times should be checked while there is still time for it. He even suggests that a law should be passed to re-establish the ancient classics.[27] Paris, however, was already too firmly attached to philosophy and theology to heed the advice of a pedantic grammarian like John Garland.[28]

tion to the fact that the *Morale Scholarium* is mentioned in another work of John Garland, the *Commentarius Curialium* (Bruges MS. 546, fol. 83; Gonville and Caius MS. 385, p. 209), which was written in 1246.

[22]"Nec sunt scripta bona que diminuunt elicona," Bruges MS. 546, fol. 6 v°; Gonville and Caius MS. 385, p. 209. The works he criticized were those of Alexander of Villedieu and Eberhard of Bethune.

[23]"Florent auctores et ab illis floridiores
Fiunt doctores et lettris (sic) utiliores."

Ibid. Denifle, *Die Universitäten,* I, 758, note 19, has seen these lines and thinks they refer to Orleans, which is very probable.

[24]This may refer to Geoffrey de Vinsauf, the author of the *Poetria Nova* dedicated to Pope Innocent III.

[25]A gloss says "Anglicus magister." Is this 'Walter the Englishman' mentioned by Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins,* I, 452?

[26]"Palladis atleta stat nomine reque poeta." *Ibid.*

[27]"Hic emendetur error dum tempus habetur
Lex talis detur id quod cecidit revocetur."

Ibid. A gloss on the last of these lines in the Gonville and Caius MS. explains, "ut antiqui libri."

[28]He himself had waxed enthusiastic in his praises of Paris where everything that Athens, Aristotle, Plato and Galen had handed down was taught and especially the sacred scriptures. Note that he here forgets to lament the absence of the classics:

"Parisius superis gaudens tamquam paradisus
Philosophos alit egregios, ubi quicquid Athenæ.
Quicquid Aristoteles, quicquid Plato vel Galienus
Ediderant, legitur; ubi pascit pagina sacra
Subtiles animas celesti pane refectas."

Ars lectoria ecclesiae (*Accentarius*), Bruges MS. 546, fol. 77 r°, (1234).

His was the last plea for the classics which came from the walls of the great university of Paris. By the middle of the thirteenth century the ancient authors had entirely lost the day. This is very clear from the famous French allegorical poem entitled the *Battle of the Seven Arts*, written about 1250 by the *trouvère* Henri d'Andeli.[29] Grammar, the champion of Orleans, supported by the humanists and the classic authors, goes out to battle against Logic of Paris who has gathered under her banner all the books and studies taught at that university. After a spirited engagement, Grammar is defeated and the Muse of Poetry goes into hiding. The author of the poem concludes with the optimistic reflection that the next generation would surely see the futility of logic and return to the study of classical belles lettres. His hopes were not to be realized. At the beginning of the fourteenth century even Orleans had forsaken them and was known only as the seat of a famous university of law. When Petrarch was a boy, the few students of arts who still studied at Orleans apparently had forgotten the ancient poets, and were lost in the "labyrinth of Aristotle."[30]

[29]Héron. *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli.* For references to other editions and abstracts of this poem see Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 677, note 4. See also Andeli, *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes au XIIIe Siècle ou la Bataille des VII Arts*, Paris, 1875, a reprint from Jubinal, *Oeuvres de Rutebeuf.*

[30]Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters*, I, 252, 262. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, II, pt. 1, 147, 144, note 1. Rashdall maintains that there was no regular faculty of arts at the University of Orleans "after the decay of the literary schools in the thirteenth century." This is contradicted by the following evidence. Fournier, *Histoire de la Science du Droit*, 65, has pointed out that there is a mention of the study of grammar and logic at Orleans in Dec. 1312 (Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 40, No. 40.). Another royal ordinance dated July, 1312, also speaks of the liberal arts at Orleans (Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 37, No. 37.). A formulary of Tréguier (c. 1313-1316) proves beyond all doubt that the arts were taught at the university at that time. Several letters in it mention Orleans as a *Studium* for literary studies. Grammar is named and at least three of the letters refer to the "labyrinth of Aristotle," which goes to show that dialectic flourished here as in all the rest of northern France. Whether the classics were still read as in the thirteenth century is somewhat doubtful. One letter, however, (No. III, Appendix) appeals to the "shining authority of the poets" (poetarum auctoritate lucida); Delisle, *Le Formulaire de Tréguier.* Seven of the letters referring to the

We are now ready to consider more specifically the causes for the neglect of the classics at the universities. All too often the whole blame for it has been laid at the door of scholasticism, that magic term which has been used to explain such a multitude of sins. The explanation is not quite so simple. Many causes combined to bring about the decline. They will be considered under the following heads: (1) Strict clerical feeling against profane and, in particular, indecent profane literature; (2) Popularity in the schools of good medieval Latin literature; (3) Renewed interest in science; (4) Rise of the lucrative studies of medicine and law (including the *ars dictaminis*); (5) Increasing popularity of logic which led to scholastic philosophy and theology.

(1) *Strict clerical feeling against profane literature.* In the twelfth and thirteenth, as well as in all previous centuries of the Middle Ages, there cropped out again and again a strong clerical feeling against the classics, decrying them as useless and dangerous heathen products. The denunciations came from both the regular and the secular clergy. Thus Peter Comestor, who was chancellor of Notre Dame of Paris after 1164, preached that the arts are useful in so far as they help in the study of the Scriptures, but we must avoid the figments of the poets which are like the croaking of frogs.[31] Stories which recall that about Odo of Cluny who dreamed of Virgil as a beautiful vase full of vipers were still told about men in the twelfth century. Frederick, an abbot of a Frisian monastery (c. 1170) dearly loved his Persius, Juvenal, Virgil, Horace and Ovid in the days of his youth, but when he grew older he devoted himself wholly to the study and teaching of the Scriptures.[32]

University of Orleans are also printed by Fournier, *Les Statuts,* III, 448-9, No. 1869. See also Cuissard, *L'Etude du Grec à Orléans depuis le IXe siècle,* 5.

Delisle has called attention to a letter from a formulary of the early fourteenth century, in which a student of Orleans warns a friend not to come there to study the branches of the trivium, which, he says, are badly taught. This would point to a decline of the arts at Orleans at that time. The letter is printed by Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students," *Amer Hist. Rev.,* III, 222, note 3.

[31]Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten,* I, 684.

[32]*Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* XXIII, 583. Quoted by Michael, *Culturzustände des deutschen Volkes,* II, 354.

Nothing is more interesting in this connection than one of the illustrations of the *Hortus Deliciarum* designed by the abbess Herrad of Landsperg for the edification of the nuns of Mont St. Odile in Alsace (1167-95). The picture is an allegorical representation of philosophy and the seven liberal arts which are recommended as having been invented by the Holy Spirit. Below these are four seated figures who are writing under the inspiration of little black demons. The inscription reads, "These are poets or Magi, inspired by the unclean spirit."[33]

Alexander of Villedieu, a master at the University of Paris, strongly voiced the clerical opposition in this direct attack upon the humanists of Orleans (1199-1202), "Orleans teaches us to sacrifice to the gods, pointing out the festivals of Faunus, of Jove, and of Bacchus. This is the pestiferous chair of learning, in which, according to the testimony of David, sits no holy man avoiding the baleful doctrine, which, as in Orleans, is like a disease spreading contagion among the multitude. Nothing should be read which is contrary to the Scriptures."[34]

The following is a similar, although milder protest made by Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240) in a sermon before the students of the University of Paris: "In spite of the value of the art of eloquence which we derive from the poets, properly called authors (*auctores*), it is better to choose for our instruction those works which contain moral teaching, such as those of Cato, Theodulus, Avianus,

[33] "Poete vel Magi, spiritu immundo instincti." The inscription continues, "Isti immundis spiritibus inspirati scribunt artem magicam et poetriam i. e. fabulosa commenta." This picture is reproduced in Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 559; Steinhausen, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kultur*, 279; and Cubberley, *Syllabus on the History of Education*, 86.

[34] "Sacrificare deis nos edocet Aurelianis
Indicens festum Fauni Iovis atque Liei.
Hec est pestifera, David testante, cathedra,
In qua non sedit vir sanctus, perniciosam
Doctrinam fugiens, que, sicut habetur ibidem,
Est quasi diffundens multis contagia morbus.
Non decet illa legi que sunt contraria legi."

Ecclessiale, Prologue. Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 14927, fol. 164. This portion of the prologue is printed by Thurot, *Notices et Extraits*, XXII, pt. 2, 115.

Prudentius, Prosper, Sedulius and above all the versified bible. Do not books of this kind suffice without turning to the historians and the poets for excitations which lead to debauch and vanity? Isidore tells us that it is not only in offering incense that we sacrifice to the demons but also in searching with eagerness the pagan fables and maxims; above all, his words apply to those who allow themselves to be drawn to such studies by pleasure or curiosity. Men of experience may cull from them some good thoughts and wise maxims, as gold may be found in the mud. . . . But human life is already too short for him who confines himself to such learning as may be acquired without danger."[35] Sermons often fall on deaf ears, but, as we shall see, the minds of those students of Paris had already been molded by various other influences so that it was easy for them to do for once as their preacher bade them.[36]

Time and time again protests also arose against the positively indecent literature of Rome. Throughout the Middle Ages there had been complaints on this score. Some men, like Rabanus Maurus, had been satisfied with a thorough purgation of all such works; others, on this account, were led to denounce pagan literature of every description.[37] There is enough evidence to show that the evil often was very real in the medieval schools.[38] Some of the best disciples of the famous schools of Chartres, notably Peter of Blois (d. 1204), seriously injured the cause of the classics by writing light and scurrilous verses which the moralists of the age pointed to as the result of familiarity with the Roman poets.[39] Even in the anoymous vocabulary, *Sacerdos ad altare*, described above, which so warmly recommends such a long list of

[35]*Sermo coram scolaribus.* Bib. Nat. MS. Lat. 17509, fos. 31, 32. This quotation is a translation from the rendering by Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age*, 474-475.

[36]Cf. Thurot, *Notices et Extraits*, XXII, pt. 2, 116 and note 2, for a few more examples of opposition of this kind. For the interesting views of a modern Roman Catholic theologian on the classics in the Middle Ages see Michael, *Culturzustände des deutschen Volkes*, III, 318-319.

[37]Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens*, 49-51.

[38]Thurot, *Notices et Extraits*, XXII, pt. 2, 112.

[39]Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres*, 315-317.

Roman writers, a note of warning is sounded not to let the youths gather those flowers of literature among which a serpent lies hidden.[40] Henri d'Andeli in his *Battle of the Seven Arts* confessed that the cause of the authors would have been stronger if it were not for the questionable fables taught in connection with them.[41] One of the reasons why Alexander of Villedieu wrote his famous grammar called the *Doctrinale* was to check the tendency to read objectionable literature in the schools. He directly attacked the elegies of Maximianus (about 600 A. D.)[42] and hoped that his new grammar, with its copious illustrative material, would drive the harmful trifles of Maximianus out of the school-rooms.[43]

(2) *Popularity of good medieval Latin literature.* Especially in the twelfth century a good deal of excellent Latin literature was written which deservedly became popular. Just as the pagan poets were often crowded out of the schools by the early Christian poets such as Prudentius and Sedulius, so now the works of modern authors frequently displaced the classics or at least were read

[40] "Placuit tamen viris autenticis carmina amatoria cum satiris subducenda esse a manibus adolescentium, ac si eis dicitur,

Qui legitis flores et humi nascencia fraga,
frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba."

Gonville and Caius, Cambridge MS. 385, p. 48. Now printed by Haskins in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* XX, 91.

[41] "Lor chastiaus fust bien deffensables,
S'il ne fust si garnis de fables
Qu'il ajoingnent lor vanitez
Par lor biaus mos en veritez."

vv. 254-257, Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli,* 52.

[42] For Maximianus and his writings see Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature,* II, 550. The most recent edition with full bibliography is that by Webster, *The Elegies of Maximianus.* Haase, *De medii aevi studiis philologicis,* 20-24, thinks that works of this kind were tolerated because they were explained allegorically; see Michael, *Culturzustände,* III, 286, note 3.

[43] "Quamvis haec non sit doctrina satis generalis
Proderit ipsa tamen plus nugis Maximiani."

Doctrinale, Proemium, vv. 24-25.

Alexander thus speaks of Maximianus:

"Iamque legent pueri pro nugis Maximiani
Quae veteres sociis nolebant pandere caris."

Ibid., vv. 3-4. Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xxxvii.

side by side with them.[44] These were written in a style that resembled the spoken Latin current at the time and some of them had distinct literary value.

Among them, the most renowned was the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Lille (written 1176-1179), an epic poem of 5,464 hexameters recounting the deeds of Alexander the Great.[45] In most respects the poem is superior to the productions of its time. The style is good, the rules of prosody and metric are generally observed. The author reveals his acquaintance with Virgil, Lucan, Statius and Claudian. There is a wealth of allegory, with queer mingling of Christian and pagan elements but there is likewise much good imagery. The poem at once became popular. This is attested by the large number of manuscripts which have come down to us.[46] In the thirteenth century it was used widely in the schools. Henry of Ghent (d. 1295) wrote that in his day the *Alexandreis* was read to such an extent that on its account the ancient poets were neglected.[47] In the fourteenth century it was still read in some universities of southern France.[48]

The *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme (d. c. 1200) was another Latin epic poem popular as a school-book. It consists of 2,200 elegiac verses relating the history of the two biblical Tobits, father and son, and their wives, with many digressions and frequent prayers put into the mouths of the characters.[49] This was neither as skillfully written nor was it as popular as the *Alexandreis*. In the *Battle of the Seven Arts* both these books are men-

[44]Thurot, *Notices et Extraits*, XXII, pt. 2, 113.

[45]The best biography of Gautier is by Roersch, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* (1880-83), VII, 514.

[46]Reusens, *Eléments de Paléographie*, 230-31, gives a facsimile of a page of the *Alexandreis* with glosses dating from the end of the thirteenth century. The glosses probably indicate that it was used as a school-book.

[47]"Scripsit [Gautier] gesta Alexandri Magni eleganti metro. Qui liber in scholis grammaticorum tantae dignitatis est hodie, ut prae ipso veterum poetarum lectio negligatur." *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, cap. 20. See Meier, *Die Sieben Freien Künste*, 29.

[48]See below, p. 55.

[49]Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, pt. I, 394, and *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XV. 424; XXII, 55-67.

tioned together with the ancient classics.[50] The *Tobias* was prescribed at the University of Perpignan in the fourteenth century.[51]

A good deal of excellent literature in the vernacular was also produced at this time, especially in France, but since none of it was ever admitted into the schools, where Latin alone prevailed, its rivalry with the classics is hard to trace.[52]

(3) *Renewed interest in science.* The thirteenth century was distinctly an era of science. Contact with the East in general and the Mohammedans in particular, brought about especially by the Crusades, had quickened scientific interests in the West. Towards the end of the twelfth century the books of Aristotle on natural philosophy were introduced into Western Europe and became an important stimulus to scientific study and investigation. At Chartres, the *quadrivium* as well as the *trivium* was broadening out into a comprehensive course of study as may be learned from the famous *Eptateuchon,* which we have had occasion to mention before.[53] During the first half of the thirteenth century the branches of the *quadrivium* were still fairly popular. Jacques de Vitry preached against them as vain learning in the same sermon in which he denounced the classics.[54] Scholars dissatisfied with the instruction in the sciences in Western Christendom travelled abroad to study. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Englishman Daniel de Morlai went to Spain to learn science from the famous Arab teachers at Toledo.[55] The scientific

[50]Lines 285 and 287. The *Alexandreis* is here referred to by its opening words, *Gesta ducis Macedum;* Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli,* 53. See also notes on page 164-167 of Héron. Here two other popular poems of the day are described, the *Archithrenius* of Jean de Hauteville and the *Aurora* or versified bible of Peter Riga, both of which are mentioned in the *Battle of the Seven Arts,* lines 283, 288; also a poem of Alain de Lille, the *Anti-Claudianus* (ed. by Wright, *Satirical Poets,* II, 268-428).

[51]See below, p. 54.

[52]It is interesting to note that about 1200 a certain Guillaume le clerc of Normandy put the books of Tobit into French verse. Gröber, *Grundriss,* II, pt. I, 656.

[53]Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres,* 223.

[54]*Sermo coram scolaribus.* Quoted by Denifle, *Die Universitäten,* I, 100.

[55]Gasquet, "English Scholarship in the Thirteenth Century," *Dublin Review,* 123, 359. See also Rashdall, *Universities in the Middle Ages,* I, 242, 323, and II,

trend of the age may be seen in the works of Alexander Neckam and Albert the Great, but above all in those of Roger Bacon, the advocate of experimental science and in many ways the most remarkable man of the thirteenth century.[56] There must have been many minor lights in science like that Peter of Maricourt whom Roger Bacon met at Paris and whom he described as a true experimental scientist.[57] Unfortunately, this scientific movement did not bear much fruit in the work of medieval universities, but while it was in its vigor it helped to detract interest from classic literature.[58]

(4) *Rise of the lucrative studies of medicine and law (including the ars dictaminis).* Medicine and law as practical

338, n. 3. Caesar of Heisterbach (1222) in his *Dialogus miraculorum* says that young people in order to learn *Nigromantia* usually go to Toledo. Günther, *Geschichte des mathematischen Unterrichts,* 203, n. 2.

[56]For Roger Bacon and the scientific movèment of the thirteenth century in general see especially Bridges, *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon;* Brewer, *Fr. Bacon Opera;* Charles, *Roger Bacon;* Pouchet, *Histoire des Sciences Naturelles au Moyen Age;* Allbutt, *Science and Medieval Thought;* Gasquet, "English Scholarship in the Thirteenth Century," *Dublin Review,* 123, 356; Parrott, *Roger Bacon;* Le Clerc, *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* XX, 227-252; Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden,* see index and foot-notes for bibliography; Narbey, "Le Moine Roger Bacon et le Mouvement Scientifique au XIIIe Siècle," in *Rev. des Questions Historiques,* XXXV, 115-165; Lalande, "Histoire des Sciences. La Physique du Moyen Age," in *Rev. de Synthèse Historique,* VII, 191-218; see foot-notes for bibliography.

[57]Rogeri Baconis, *Opus Tertium,* cap. xiii, ed. Brewer, 43.

[58]Gasquet, "English Scholarship," *Dublin Review,* 123, 373, writes: "Now without any doubt at all, the spirit of the thirteenth century was essentially scientific. . . . But this great characteristic of the thirteenth century was purchased at a price. Looking back to the previous age and comparing the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we can hardly fail to see that the price paid was the sacrifice of literature in its highest and truest sense; a great price indeed for after all it must be remembered that literature is the supreme and fullest expression of all the highest powers of man. We have only to look, for example, at the writings of John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois and set them by the side of those—say of Albert the Great, or Alexander of Hales—to see that the former are really classical in thought and expression as compared with the latter."

No doubt there is a grain of truth in this statement, but to account for the decline of belles lettres solely by the great interest in science is a very narrow view of this important intellectual movement.

studies rose to such importance that they became the foundation stones of many large universities. Indeed, civil or canon law, or both, were taught at all medieval universities whereas not even one-half of them had a faculty of theology.[59] These branches exercised great attraction by the prospect of pecuniary gain which they held out to students. Hence in their eagerness to study law or medicine they not only neglected the ancient authors but often failed to acquire the necessary elements of grammar.

The *Battle of the Seven Liberal Arts* speaks of the physicians and the chirurgeons of Paris as enemies of the good old authors.[60] The competition of law with the classics is especially apparent, even at Paris where law was never of paramount importance. Gerald de Barri, who studied and taught at Paris in his youth, in his old age (after 1200) lamented the craze for law as one of the most serious causes for the neglect of letters. "Some," he says (quoting Radulphus Belvacensis), "are so superficial, that, throwing aside literature, the works of poets, namely of [classical] authors, and those of philosophers, presume to advance from the very rudiments of the arts, that is, from Donatus and Cato, immediately to law, not only to the civil but even to canon law."[61] He recalls that once he heard a certain professor at Paris proclaim before a multitude of students that the evil days had come which the sibyl had foretold in her prophecy, "The days will come, woe to them, when law will obliterate the study of letters."[62] If such was the effect of law on literary studies at

[59]Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I, 696, 703.

[60]vv. 99-129, Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli*, 46.

[61]"Alii superseminati, qui et superficiales dici possunt, qui, praetermissa literatura, poetarum scilicet auctorum, philosophorum, et artium fundamento, statim a Donato et Catone [a primary latin reader] ad leges non solum humanas, sed etiam divinas, se transfere praesumunt." Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, cap XXXVII (*De literaturae defectu ex legum humanarum et logices abusu proveniente*), ed. Brewer, II, 348-49.

[62]"Causam tanti defectus huius et tam generalis hanc esse noveritis, quod literaturae radicem et fundamentum eatenus inconcussum leges imperiales in regnis occiduis jam propemodum, immo praeter modum, hodie suffocarunt. Tempus enim de quo Sibyllae vaticinium olim mentionem fecit (quod magistrum Menervium,

Paris[63] what must it have been at the great law university, Bologna! The absence of the classics at that famous Italian university during the thirteenth century must in the first instance be attributed to the overwhelming importance of law. We have already seen how Orleans, renowned for classics in the first half of the thirteenth century, in the fourteenth was known only for law.

Closely related to law, although not a part of it, was another competitor of the ancient classics, namely the *ars dictaminis* or the art of writing letters and formal documents, which will be dealt with fully in the third chapter. This too was a lucrative study since it prepared its votaries for positions in the chanceries of church and state. At Bologna it gradually usurped almost the whole field of the arts. In France also it became very pop-

principalem Petri Abulardi discipulum et rhetorem incomparabilem, eximium in auditorio suo, Parisiis coram multitudine scholarium recitantem audivimus et plangentem, damnisque futuris valde compatientem), iam advenit, erat autem vaticinium tale: 'Venient dies, vae illis, quibus leges obliterabunt scientiam literarum.'" *Speculum Ecclesiae, Prooemium,* ed. Brewer, IV, 7. This passage was partly restored from the quotation of it made by A. Wood, *Antiq. Univer. Oxon.*, p. 54. The *Speculum* was written c. 1220. This prophecy of the Sibyl, Giraldus had referred to before in his *Gemma,* ed. Brewer, II, 349, "Episcopus autem ille, de quo nunc ultimo locuti sumus [Radulphus Belvacensis] inter superficiales numerari potuit, cujusmodi hodie multos novimus propter leges Justinianas, quae literaturam, urgente cupiditatis et ambitionis incommodo, adeo in multis jam suffocarunt, quod magistrum Mainerium (sic) in auditorio scholæ suae Parisius dicentem, et damna sui temporis plangentem, audivi, vaticinium illud Sibillae vere nostris diebus esse completum, hoc scilicet: 'Venient dies, et vae illis, quibus leges obliterabunt scientiam literarum.'"

See also Langlois, *Questions d'Histoire et d'Enseignement,* 16.

[63]In the *Battle of the Seven Arts* both civil and canon law rode proudly on horseback thus showing their superiority over the arts:

"La Loi chevaucha richement
Et Decret orguilleusement
Sor trestoutes les autres ars,"

vv. 65-68, Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli,* 45.

The study of civil law was prohibited at Paris in 1219 by Pope Honorius III (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 92), but it is not probable that this prohibition was ever obeyed absolutely. The above lines would argue that civil law was flourishing at Paris about 1250 when this poem was written.

ular. In a model letter, which comes from the diocese of Orleans, one student advises another to abandon the profitless and even harmful pursuit of poetry and to hasten to take up the *ars dictaminis* which holds out such fair prospects of worldly success.[64] Another letter tells how a student intends to turn even from theology temporarily in order to pursue the popular *ars dictaminis*. Ponce de Provence, a famous itinerant professor of the art, came to Orleans about 1250 promising his students that he would pass by the fables of the authors and lead them directly to that pearl of knowledge, the *ars dictaminis*.[65]

(5) *Increasing popularity of logic which led to scholastic philosophy and theology.* After all, however, the most important cause of the decline of the classics and of purely literary pursuits generally, was the rise of dialectics to undisputed eminence among the arts. This is true especially because the reign of Aristotle became most absolute in northern France where the humanistic tendencies had been strongest.

At first there was no active antagonism between dialectics and the authors. Abelard himeslf had a high regard for the achievements of classical times and probably first awakened in his famous pupil, John of Salisbury, a due sense of the importance of ancient literature.[66] But the interest in speculative thinking became too absorbing to allow the study of the anthors to remain important. By gradual stages it simply monopolized the field of

[64]"Amico suo carissimo, C., dilectus et compatriota suus, B., magis utilibus minus utilia posthabere. Vir discretus honesta sequitur et ea maxime que majorem fructum prestare debeant et honorem. Quos ducit mollicies etatis insipide et infelix lascivia, theatrales, se conferunt ad meretriculas et cum molli versiculo nimisque tenero pruritus generant auditori cuilibet. . . . Vero enim vero qui dictandi secuntur scientiam, ad reges veniunt et prelatis ecclesie traduntur a regibus, ad honores ecclesiasticos interventus sui potentia promovendi." Valois, *De Arte Scribendi Epistolas*, 25-26.

[65]"Incipiunt dictamina magistri Poncii. Universis scolaribus qui decorari cupiunt epistolaris dictaminis scientia gloriosa P. Magister in dictamine salutem et neglectis actorum fabulis ad margaritam dictaminis properare." Thurot, *Notices et Extraits*, XXII, pt. 2, 39.

[66]Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis*, 64, 82.

the arts in the north of Europe and the classical literary tendencies of Chartres and Orleans died a death of sheer starvation.

The change, however, did not take place without strong protests from many sides. Examples of such protests might be multiplied almost endlessly. The works of John of Salisbury are full of sane and vigorous denunciations of the foolish warfare of mere words without a previous foundation in real learning. He was not a humanist to the extent that he roundly condemned scholastic philosophy. Far from it, for he spent most of his life in just such dialectical and theological pursuits as engaged his great master Abelard. What distinguished him from most of his contemporaries was that throughout his career he maintained that a thorough acquaintance with the liberal arts, including the classics, was absolutely necessary as a basis for higher learning.[67] He therefore lamented that students praised only Aristotle and despised Cicero.[68] Nevertheless he was still hopeful and believed firmly that he could convince his contemporaries of the value of literary studies.[69]

Next to John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois was the best representative of the humanistic tendency in education during the twelfth century. In many of his letters he championed the cause of a broad training in grammar and the authors as a preparation

[67]"Nam sicut gladius Herculis in manu Pygmaei, aut pumilionis, ineffax est; et idem in manu Achillis aut Hectoris, ad modum fulminis universa prosternit; sic dialectica, si aliarum disciplinarum vigore destituatur, quodammodo manca est et inutilis fere." *Metalogicus,* lib. II, cap. IX, Migne, *Patrologiae Lat.,* 199, 866.

[68]"Ut juvenis discat plurima, pauca legat,
Laudet Aristotelem solum, spernit Ciceronem
Et quicquid Latiis Graecia capta dedit,
Conspuit in leges, vilescit physica, quaevis
Littera sordescit, logica sola placet. LL
Non tamen ista placet, ut eam quis scire laboret,
Si quis credatur logicus, hoc satis est."

[69]For numerous other examples from the works of John of Salisbury see, Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis;* Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres;* Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought,* ch. VII; Krey, "John of Salisbury's Attitude Towards the Classics."

for dialectic and theology. Writing to the archdeacon of Nantes (c. 1160) concerning the education of his two nephews, Peter says, "You say that William has a quicker and sharper mind, because, having neglected the study of grammar and the authors, he flew to the cunning of the logicians where he learned dialectic not as he should have done, in books, but in tablets and notebooks. In such is not the foundation of learning and the subtlety which you praise is harmful to many."[70] John of Hauteville, writing in the second half of the twelfth century, complained that many passed as wise men at Paris, who, when they had just tasted wisdom, thought they had exhausted it and swelled with pride because of this little learning.[71] In a lugubrious letter to the Pope, the pessimistic Stephen, bishop of Tournay, thus complained about the decline of liberal studies: "Beardless youths sit in the chairs of the old professors and they who are scarcely pupils are anxious to be called masters. . . . Neglecting the rules of the arts and discarding the books of good authority, with their sophistications they catch flies of senseless verbiage as in the webs of spiders."[72] In his book "On the Nature of Things" Alexander Neckam (d. 1217) has a long chapter on the seven arts in

[70]"Willelmum predicas subtilioris vene et acutioris ingenii, eo quod grammatice et auctorum scientia pretermisso volavit ad versutias logicorum, ubi non in libris, sicut solet, dialecticam didicit, sed in scedulis et quaternis. Non est in talibus fundamentum scientie litteralis, multisque perniciosa est ista subtilitas, quam extollis." *Epistolae* No. 101, Migne, *Patrologiae Lat.*, 207, 311. Also in Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 28.

[71]"At sunt philosophi qui nudum nomen et umbram
Numinis arripiunt, qui vix libasse Minervam
Exhausisse putant, tenuisque scientia pectus
Erigit."

Johannes de Altavilla, *Archithrenius,* ed. Wright, *Satirical Poets* (Rolls Series), I, 289.

[72]"Ve duo predicta sunt, et ecce restat tertium ve: facultates quas liberales appellant amissa libertate pristina in tantam servitutem devocantur, ut comatuli adolescentes earum magisteria impudentes usurpent, et in cathedra seniorum sedeant imberbes, et qui nondum norunt esse discipuli laborant ut nominentur magistri. . . Omissis regulis artium abjectisque libris autenticis artificum muscas inanium verbulorum sophismatibus suis tamquam aranearum tendiculis includunt." Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 48. This letter was written between 1192-1203.

which he sharply satirizes the craze for dialectical disputations at Paris, and deplores the decline of interest in literature.[73] Gerald de Barri (d. 1223) likewise took a very determined stand in this matter and pointed out that the over-emphasis on dialectics was in large measure the cause of the decline of the ancient literature. He told many an amusing tale to warn his contemporaries of the error of their ways but his witticisms were not appreciated until two centuries after his death.[74]

We have seen that about the middle of the thirteenth century, the *trouvère* Henri d'Andeli, in his *Battle of the Seven Arts,* defending the classics as taught at Orleans, still took a vigorous fling at Logic enthroned at Paris. But as the century advanced the protests ceased and for almost a hundred years the dominance of Aristotle was absolute and unassailed.[75]

Such are the definable causes which led to neglect of the classics at the medieval universities. There may have been other causes, less tangible but of considerable weight. It should be remembered that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries comprised an era of great material development. In many ways a "backwoods" Europe was being transformed into a Europe with large well-built cities and highways for travel and commerce. This practical, feverishly active commercial age did not create the best conditions for purely humanistic pursuits. It is always well worth while to reflect upon the bearing which general conditions of life may have upon such a particular subject as we have in hand.[76]

[73]Alexander Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum,* cap. CLXXIII, ed. Wright (Rolls Series), 283-307.

[74]Giraldi Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica,* II, cap. XXXVII, ed. Wright (Rolls Series), II, 348-357.

[75]It should not be forgotten, however, that as late as about 1270 Roger Bacon made vigorous although ineffective protests against the excesses of the worship of Aristotelian logic: e. g. in his *Compendium Studii Philosophiae,* ed. Brewer, 469-473. See below, p. 44.

[76]For survivals of the study of the classics during the barren century from about 1225-1325 see Appendix II.

CHAPTER II.

Grammar. Decline of the Study of Language

Until the rise of universities grammar was the most important of the seven liberal arts. For centuries it had been taught chiefly on the basis of the famous text-books of Donatus and Priscian. Donatus was a teacher of grammar in Rome about 350 A. D. He wrote two text-books, a primary grammar, the *ars minor,* and a larger treatise, the *ars grammatica,* of which however only the third part, the so-called *Barbarismus,* was read widely. Priscian taught grammar at Constantinople about 500 A. D. and published his lectures as the *institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII.* This grammar was designed for advanced students. The first sixteen of these books came to be known as *Priscianus maior.* They deal with the eight parts of speech. The last two books, which treat of syntax, were called *Priscianus minor.*

From these and other manuals the rules of the Latin language had been taught in the medieval schools very much as the Romans had learned them. Donatus and Priscian had at times been modified and adapted to the needs and ideals of the Christian schools but not to any considerable extent.

With the twelfth century there came such a marked change that thenceforward we may with justice distinguish between the "old" and the "new grammar."[1] It was natural that grammar should have its share in the general intellectual uplift of this century. In some respects it profited from the changes which were coming about. Donatus and Priscian had been written for students whose native tongue was Latin. They therefore treated many things in a manner ill-adapted for boys who learned it as a foreign language. Thus little had been done to supply the necessary general rules of syntax. One of the best contributions of

[1]Thurot, *Notices et Extraits de divers Manuscrits Latins pour servir a l'Histoire des Doctrines Grammaticales au Moyen Age* in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* XXII, pt. 2, 60, 89.

the "new grammar" was a system of syntax so well constructed that its principles were adopted by the humanists and are still in vogue even today.[2] More latitude also was given to the practice of explaining the Latin rules in the vulgar tongue. This was especially true in lower work but it likewise was employed in teaching the texts used at universities.[3] The Italians were foremost in popularizing this mode of instruction.[4]

A somewhat curious new element was the verse form in which grammars were now written. A veritable craze for versifying prevailed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. No doubt it would be as difficult to explain this phenomenon as it would to state just why dialectic became so very popular in the same period. Whatever may have been the causes therefor, it is known that almost every species of literary production occasionally appeared in verse. In the twelfth century we meet with rhymed charters.[5] Chronicles were written more and more frequently in metrical form.[6] Matthew of Vendôme (d. c. 1200) composed a metrical formulary for letter writing.[7] Sermons were sometimes thrown into poetical form or rhythmical prose.[8] The *Aurora* of Peter of Riga (d. 1209), often referred to as the versified bible, was extremely popular.[9] Quite naturally, grammar was soon drawn into the same current especially since it was believed that rhyme and metre were helps to the memory. As early as 1150 Peter Helias, a teacher at Paris, wrote a brief summary of Latin grammar in

[2]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei,* Einleitung, xii-xv.

[3]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, lx; Delisle, *Mâitre Yon,* in *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* XXXI, 4.

[4]Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 92.

[5]Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique,* 453.

[6]Meier, *Die Sieben Freien Künste,* 28. Wülker, *Grundriss der angelsächsischen Literatur,* 338, cites examples of this kind in Anglo Saxon chronicles of the 10th and 11th centuries.

[7]Wattenbach, "Poetischer Briefsteller von M. v. Vendôme," in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akademie* (1872,) II, 570. Bernard Sylvester of Tours, c. 1158, wrote a *Summa Dictaminum* in verse; Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship,* I. 514.

[8]Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française,* 479.

[9]Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship,* 530.

hexameters.[10] Practically all the new text-books which now appeared were in verse form. Priscian began to lose ground partly because his work was in prose—hence attempts were made to bring him up to date in this respect. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains a versified *Priscianus maior* which was used at the Sorbonne.[11] The following gloss, found in one of the new grammars, clearly states the demands of those times: "The metrical form which this author follows is better than prose which Priscian uses, and for these reasons: the metrical form can be more easily comprehended, it is more elegant, is briefer, and can be remembered more easily."[12]

A much more important change was effected by the influence of scholasticism which gradually transformed grammar into a speculative study. Instead of referring to examples from the best Latin literature to explain a doubtful point, the grammarians now preferred to solve the matter by the rules of logic.[13] Priscian could not satisfy these new requirements. The situation is thus summed up in a gloss to one of the new text-books: "Since Priscian did not teach grammar by every possible means, the value of his books is greatly diminished. Thus he gives many constructions without assigning reasons for them, relying solely on the authority of the ancient grammarians. Therefore he should not teach, because those only should teach who give reasons for what they say."[14] The influence of the dialectical method went so far that even disputations in grammar were sometimes

[10]Meier, *Die Sieben Freien Künste,* 15.

[11]Fierville, *Une Grammaire Latine inédite du XIIIe Siècle,* Avant Propos, vi, note 2, and vii.

[12]Sermo metricus, quem sequitur actor iste, ad plura se habet quam prosaicus, quem sequitur Priscianus et hoc ita probatur; sermo metricus utilius factus est ad faciliorem acceptionem, ad venustam et lucidam brevitatem et ad memoriam firmiorem." Wrobel, *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus,* Praefatio, ix.

[13]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xi.

[14]"Cum Priscianus non docuerit grammaticam per omnem modum sciendi possibilem, in eo sua doctrina est valde diminuta. Unde constructiones multas dicit, quarum tamen causas non assignat, sed solum eas declarat per auctoritates antiquorum grammaticorum. Propter quod non docet, quia illi tantum docent, qui causas suorum dictorum assignant." Wrobel, *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus,* Praefatio, ix.

held at universities.[15] Duns Scotus (c. 1300) actually wrote a *"grammatica speculativa."*[16]

The greatest calamity, however, which befell grammar in this age was the woeful decline of literature. In the first chapter it was demonstrated how largely logic was responsible for this, but that there were also many other causes. Grammar now lost the heritage which the Romans had bestowed on her when they handed her over to the barbarians as the foremost among the seven liberal arts. Throughout the earlier middle ages she had preserved this birthright and at times a very comprehensive and liberal course in classical and Christian literature had been taught as a part of "grammar" in the medieval schools. But, with the rise of universities, purely literary pursuits were crowded to the wall and grammar was sheared and maimed until nothing was left except the technical rules of language and even they were taught badly. It was deplorable that even a man like Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) who was so well versed in the classics[17] should have regarded their use in connection with grammar as merely incidental, to be resorted to as a pastime by those who chose to read them.[18] However, this decline of grammar was very gradual and there are some interesting episodes in the telling of the tale.

Leaving unmentioned several minor works which were never prescribed at universities,[19] the epoch-making new grammars were the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu and the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune.

As his name indicates, Alexander was born in the little village

[15]Fournier, *Les Statuts et Privilèges des Universités Françaises,* II. 678. This is an example from Perpignan (1380-90?) See below, p. 53.

[16]Appuhn, *Das Trivium,* 43.

[17]See Appendix II, below, p. 101.

[18]"Aliud (sc. genus scripturarum) eorum, quae appendicia sunt artium et in aliqua extra philosophiam materia versantur, ut sunt carmina poetarum, comoediae et tragoediae, fabulae quoque et historiae. . . . Deinde caetera, si vacant, legantur, quia plus aliquando delectare solent seriis admista ludicra." Quoted by Appuhn, *Das Trivium,* 18, n. 2.

[19]Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 16-27, 96.

of Villedieu near Avranches in Normandy.[20] The date of his birth is not known. It is quite certain, however, that he studied at Paris for a considerable period, probably some time within the last two decades of the twelfth century just when the university was being molded. Together with two companions, Alexander diligently attended lectures, especially those on Priscian and other grammarians, and thus collected voluminous notes. These the three students began to put into metrical form. When one of his companions died and the other was called to England, Alexander remained in possession of the material which the three had gathered. Soon he was called away from Paris to teach the nephews of the Bishop of Dol.[21] Pleased with the progress of the children, the bishop suggested to Alexander that he write a systematic text-book of grammar for the instruction of the two boys. He followed this advice and, drawing upon the materials which he had gathered at Paris, wrote his famous *Doctrinale*.[22] The *Doctrinale* was written in 1199.[23] It is in verse throughout, comprising 2,645 leonine hexameters. The author himself divided it into twelve chapters which in the fourteenth century were usually grouped into three parts: (1) etymology, (2) syntax, (3) quantity, accent and figures of speech. It improved upon Priscian especially in its chapters on syntax. Its verse form in itself gave it popularity in an age so partial to poetic expression. Already in the thirteenth century its spread was rapid, although we have very little definite information until the fourteenth. It gradually crept into the universities where it tended to

[20]The best account of Alexander of Villedieu is by Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung (1893). A much earlier work is that of Thurot, *De Alexandri de Villa Dei Doctrinali eiusque fatis* (1850), which is still very useful. It should be supplemented by what the author says in *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, *passim.*

[21]Not his "grandchildren" as Reichling has it. See G. Paris in *Romania,* XXIII, 589, n. 2.

[22]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xx-xxiv, gathered the above details about the life of Alexander from various glosses of the *Doctrinale.* Since perhaps all these glosses were written after the death of Alexander they may not be trustworthy in every detail. See one of them in Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 511.

[23]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xxxvii.

diminish the importance of Priscian or to drive him out altogether. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the *Doctrinale* was the universal grammar of nearly all Europe.[24] Reichling describes 250 manuscript copies and 295 printed ones which still exist and his list is by no means exhaustive.[25] This alone would tell the story of the enormous popularity of the work. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, the humanists began to turn their attention to this universal darling of the schools. The movement began in Italy and then spread into Germany and France and the northern countries. At first attempts were made to emend the old standard text-book. Some of his critics gave Alexander credit for considerable ingenuity but soon he was roundly condemned everywhere and with the opening of the sixteenth century the reign of the *Doctrinale*, the *rex barbarorum*, was over.[26]

Although Alexander wrote other grammatical works, none of them ever attracted much attention. It is very probable, however, that he was the author of a text-book called *Alexander*, which was read at Toulouse and other universities of southern France and which hitherto has been entirely unnoticed.[27]

The *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune is usually mentioned along with the *Doctrinale* and was used almost as widely.[28] It appeared in 1212.[29] Like the *Doctrinale* it also was written in hexameter verse. Its peculiar name was derived from the chapter which treats of Greek etymology. Although Eberhard himself did not know Greek,[30] he thus supplied a need which had grown up from the fact that through the Vulgate and the Church Fathers many Greek as well as Hebrew words and constructions

[24]Thurot, *Notices et Extraits*, XXII, pt. 2, 93.

[25]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, cxxi, clxix. See some additions made by Delisle, "Alexandre de Villedieu et Guillaume le Moine." in *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes* LXII, 158.

[26]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, Einleitung, lxxxiii. See how sharply Reichling criticizes the humanistic grammarians, p. cvi.

[27]For a full discussion of this mysterious text-book see Appendix III.

[28]Wrobel, (ed.) *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus.*

[29]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, Einleitung, lxxxiii.

[30]Meier, *Die Sieben Freien Künste*, 15.

had crept into the medieval Latin which demanded elucidation.[31] The *Graecismus* also contains ordinary grammatical material like the parts of speech and rules of metre. Many additions and interpolations were made so that it is difficult to determine just how much was originally Eberhard's own work.[32] On the whole the *Graecismus* is more advanced than the *Doctrinale* which it supplements especially in its chapters on Greek words and Latin synonyms.[33].

So much for the history of the new tendencies in grammar and the new text-books. Their influence was important in shaping the work in grammar at the universities.

For the University of Paris, the statutes give extremely little information on the subject of grammar. In 1215 there were prescribed the *"two Priscians* or at least one of them."[34] Thereafter, until 1366, the mere mention of *Priscian,* usually both the *maior* and *minor,* is all that can be gleaned.[35] Nevertheless, the history of grammar even at Paris is not so lifeless and barren as an examination of the statutes would indicate. We learn from Gerald de Barri that towards the close of the twelfth century grammar still held an important place at Paris.[36] During the first half of the thirteenth century there was still enough interest in the subject to cause some stir at Paris when the *Doctrinale* and the *Graecismus* were beginning to attract attention. Our sources of information are the writings of the grammarian John Garland.

[31]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, x.

[32]Bäbler, *Beiträge,* 105; Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 101.

[33]Bäbler, *Beiträge,* 102.

[34]Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 78.

[35]Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 138 (A. D. 1231); 228 (A. D. 1252); 278 (A. D. 1255); II, 678 (before 1366).

[36]Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae,* ed. Brewer, IV, 3, 7. The anonymous Vocabulary of Gonville and Caius College MS. 385, p. 52 (See above, p. 15) gives the following program for grammar: "Gramatice daturus operam audiat et legat Barbarismum Donati et Prisciani maius volumen cum libro constructionum— et Remigium et Priscianum de metris et de ponderibus et duodecim versibus Virgilii et Priscianum de accentibus quem tamen multi negant editum esse a Prisciano inspiciat diligenter."

A short sketch of his life has already been given.[37] Of his many works his chief grammatical treatises must now engage our attention.[38] They are the *Clavis compendii,* the *Compendium grammatice,* and the *Accentarius.*[39] They are all in metrical form. The *Compendium grammatice* contains about 4000 lines, being much longer therefore than the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu which has only 2645. The *Clavis compendii* which, as its title indicates, was designed as an introduction to the *Compendium,* is about half as long, whereas the *Accentarius* is still briefer.

No one has ever studied these works thoroughly. To those who have glanced at them or read extracts from them they have seemed exceedingly pedantic and obscure.[40] That criticism certainly seems to be merited; yet before final judgment is passed on these books they should be compared carefully with works like the *Doctrinale* and the *Graecismus.* It is to be hoped that this will be done soon.[41]

Whatever may be the verdict as regards the value of the

[37]See above, p. 17.

[38]None of those that will be mentioned have ever been published. The most important MSS. in which they have been preserved are now at Bruges and at Cambridge, England. See the bibliography of MSS. below. Also Scheler, *Lexicographie Latine du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle.*

[39]These works are extant in the following manuscript copies: *Clavis compendii,* (1) Bruges MS. 546, fos. 25 r°—42 v°; (2) Gonville and Caius College MS. 136, p. 166 ff; (3) Ibid., MS. 385, p. 271 ff. *Compendium grammatice,* (1) Gonville and Caius College MS. 385, p. 211 ff; (2) Ibid., MS. 593, p. 54 ff; (3) Bruges MS. 546, fos. 89 r°—145 v°, (here wrongly entitled *Ars versificatoria*). *Accentarius,* (1) Gonville and Caius College MS. 385, p. 68 ff; (2) Bruges MS. 546, fos. 53 v°—77 r° (entitled *Ars lectoria ecclesiae.*)

[40]Scheler, *Lexicographie Latine du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle,* 48, speaks of the *Clavis compendii* as a "lourde composition." See also Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits,* XXVII, pt. 2, 1; and Haskins, "A List of Textbooks from the Close of the Twelfth Century," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* XX (1909), 77.

[41]As early as 1867, Scheler, *Lexicographie Latine du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle,* 18, wrote: "personne encore, que je sache, ne s'est imposé la tâche de jeter un peu plus de lumière sur la carrière pédagogique et sur l'ensemble des travaux si variés de ce fécond écrivain. Une étude approfondie sur Garlande, envisagé au point de vue de l'état des lettres et d'organisation de l'enseignement au 13e siècle, trouverait dans la poussière des bibliothèques encore de nombreuses sources d'information."

grammatical works of John Garland, it is safe to say that he must have been prominent in his day as a teacher at the universities of Paris and Toulouse. Roger Bacon had heard him lecture and wrote approvingly of him whereas he thought Alexander of Villedieu was not a worthy authority.[42] His activities as a writer and teacher show that there still was a good deal of live interest in grammar at Paris during the first half of the thirteenth century. That the *Doctrinale* and the *Graecismus* were well known is plain from the fact that John Garland tried hard to supplant them or at least correct and supplement them by his own books.

A gloss to the *Accentarius* (*Ars lectoria*) explains that this work was written on account of the ignorance which prevailed because of the neglect of the ancient classics; two modern books, the *Graecismus* and the *Doctrinale* had been written to teach correct grammar but they had done it so inefficiently that the author had taken it upon himself to supplement them and for that reason had written the *Compendium,* the *Clavis compendii* and this *Accentarius.*[43]

The truth of this gloss (which may of course have been written by the author himself) is more than borne out by various passages in his works. In his *Morale Scholarium* described in the previous chapter[44] he has a long paragraph of warning against certain useless modern books which turn out to be the *Doctrinale*

[42]Roger Bacon, *Compendium Studii,* ed. Brewer, 453, 477. On p. 477 he criticizes the grammarian Brito for quoting Alexander, "quia numquam fuit dignus auctoritate."

[43]"Causa principalis est duplex, scilicet amicitia, altera moderni temporis ignorantia propter lapsum autorum. quia ut evitarentur vitia in communi sermone et vitia soloecismi, conati sunt duo moderni auctores, videlicet Graecismus et Doctrinale, tradere doctrinam declinandi, construendi, breves et longas cognoscendi et recte secundum accentum pronuntiandi, et diffiniendi figuras ad grammaticam pertinentes, qui tamen omnia insufficienter fecerunt, unde ad eorum suppletionem artifex huius operis quod pro manibus habemus, quoddam opus composuit quod compendium intitulavit et hoc praesens opus ab ipso dependens, et aliud opus quod etiam clavem compendii intitulavit." Bruges MS. 546, fol. 53 v°. Quoted by Scheler, *Lexicographie Latine,* 50.

[44]See above, p. 17.

and *Graecismus*.[45] He says that the former closes the way to true knowledge, that its diction is faulty and verbose, that it impedes the quickwitted and does not teach students the real difficulties of language;[46] as for the *Graecismus,* it is a mendacious guide for Greek words, since even its Latin is as turgid as the isthmian mountain.[47] For milk, both offer poison to the boys.[48]

In the *Clavis compendii* a systematic criticism of the *Doctrinale* and *Graecismus* is undertaken. The third part of the work is devoted to that purpose[49] and we find in it such chapters as "Hic ostendum mendacia grecismi,"[50] and "De correctionibus super doctrinale."[51] Time and again John warns his students against the mistakes of Alexander of Villedieu and promises to correct them.[52] His favorite epithet for the *Graecismus* is "mendax." In one obscure passage he even calls the *Doctrinale* and the *Graecismus* the "little twin apes."[53]

[45]The heading of the paragraph reads: "Persuadeo ad libros philosophicos propter quedam moderna scripta inutilia ad laudem cancellarii." *Morale Scholarium,* Gonville and Caius College MS. 385, p. 312; Bruges MS. 546, fol. 6 v°.

[46]"Doctrinale viam claudens ad philosophiam
Non gerit egregiam linguam sed tautologiam
Tardat preproperos nec ducit ad ardua cleros." *Ibid.*

[47]"Mendax grecismus est grecis philosophismus
Quando latinismus turget mons velud ismus." *Ibid.*

(Above *mons* the Gonville and Caius College MS. has the following gloss: "est mons stans inter egeum mare et ionium mare.")

[48]"Virus quod trutinant pueris pro lacte propinant." *Ibid.*

[49]"Tertius emendat quedam tibi scripta moderna." *Clavis compendii,* Bruges MS. 546, fol. 25 v°; Gonville and Caius College MSS. 385, p. 271; 136, p. 166.

[50]Bruges MS. 546, fol. 27 r°.

[51]*Ibid,* fol. 30 v°.

[52]"Post predicta novum videas dilecte laborem
In doctrinali res est viciosa recenti
De multis pauca correctis hic ego pono
De quibus o iuvenis merito dubitare fateris." *Ibid.*

[53]"Ipsa que gramatice prostat laterata capillos,
De doctrinali de grescismo referamus;
Que per eos scripta multo meliora fugamus
Simioli gemini cunctos vicere gigantes

The *Compendium grammatice*[54] also devotes much attention to the new text-books of Alexander and Eberhard. True, the author tells his readers that some credit should be given the *Doctrinale* and the *Graecismus* for the few good things they have done for grammar; but when an old tree has died it should be plucked out roots and all so that the works of one generation may not obstruct the progress of the next. This John proposes to do and in his new *Compendium* promises to sow acceptable grammatical seed and to correct the above antiquated text-books.[55]

Not content with criticizing the *Doctrinale* in his own works, John undertook to emend it. At least three copies of this emended *Doctrinale* are extant today—all in manuscripts of the thirteenth century.[56] According to Reichling this emendation was very

Tamquam ridiculo monstro sua terga parantes."

Clavis compendii. Gonville and Caius College, MSS. 136, p. 171; 385, p 274; Bruges, MS. 546, fol. 27 r°.

[54]This book seems to have been written between 1218 and 1236. Philippus is mentioned as chancellor (Gonville and Caius College MSS. 385, p. 211; 593, p. 54). Philippe de Grève (Philippus de Grève) was chancellor of the University of Paris 1218-1236 (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, xx; Haskins, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* X, 7 note). He died in 1236 (*Chartularium,* I, 162; Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne,* 34.). Probably the work was written much nearer 1236 than 1218, for, several lines above on the MS. pages just referred to, John seems to speak of himself as an old man ("Ibo senex ad doctores").

[55]"Iliis in rebus paucis quas cernere queras
Est inventori grecismus gratia danda
Et doctrinalis. Quo quedam silva recedit
Sed tibi proposui resides avellere stirpes
Ne lapsum faciant natis vestigia patrum,
Granaque grata seram que multiplicentur in usum
Fautor apolinii redit in breve corrigiturque
Hic doctrinalis liber et grecismus auctor."

Compendium grammatice, Gonville and Caius College MSS. 385, p. 211; 593, p. 54. For some detailed criticism of the *Graecismus* and *Doctrinale* see Gonville and Caius College MS. 385, pp. 243-248; Bruges MS. 546, fol. 121 r°, ff.

[56]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, liii. Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits,* XXVII, pt. 2, 86 (criticizing Thurot), contends that John Garland never attempted to emend the *Doctrinale.* This opinion is of course untenable in the light of the above facts.

thorough and comprehensive, even more so than the many similar attempts made by the humanists of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, it never became popular. The *Doctrinale* in almost its original dress was soon to find its way into nearly every school and university in Europe; whereas this emended edition as well as John's own grammatical works were almost entirely forgotten.

Perhaps the writings of John Garland are so worthless that they fully merit even more profound oblivion than has been their lot. That cannot be decided until competent scholars have examined them closely. But even if John shall be definitely pronounced a bad poet and a bad grammarian as compared with his contemporaries, he nevertheless will always remain an interesting figure in the early history of the University of Paris. He at least stood for reform and for improvement in literary form and expression in an age which was fast becoming wholly indifferent to good style and good literature. John Bale (1495-1563) said of him (perhaps, however, with something of the sneer of the humanist): "Hence he was held to be a famous rhetorician and poet in that century of hopeless blindness when the arts degenerated from all purity of expression."[57]

Sulpicius, the first humanistic grammarian, expressed surprise that in times past nobody had undertaken to write a new grammar but that all had preferred to follow blindly the worthless *Doctrinale*.[58] Such a task John Garland had really undertaken, but he seems not to have aroused even a single critic or rival. His contemporaries simply had lost all interest in deep and appreciative study of language and literature.

One other voice there was crying in the wilderness. It is not strange that it should have been that of Roger Bacon whose fate it was to champion so many worthy but losing causes. He wrote about 1270 and deplored that in spite of the almost feverish mental activity of the previous forty years, error and ignorance had never been greater. With remarkable breadth of view he

[57]Unde rhetor ac poeta insignis habebatur in eo corruptissimae caecitatis saeculo cum degenenarent artes ab omni sermonis puritate." Quoted by Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher,* I, 486.

[58]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, lxxxvi. It would be an interesting study to compare the grammars of John Garland and that of Sulpicius.

called for reform in the study of grammar in its widest sense, for improvement of style and better appreciation of ancient literature.[59] He even went much further than this and insisted that the study of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaean was absolutely necessary for a thorough knowledge of Latin and for an understanding of Aristotle and the Scriptures.[60] There is no indication, however, that his ideas along these lines made the least impression on university work.[61]

After the death of John Garland (somewhat after 1252) very little more can be said about grammar at the great university of France. Logic and philosophy now held full sway in the arts course. Until 1366 not another reference to the *Doctrinale* and *Graecismus* can be found in connection with Paris. Not a word more about the works of John Garland. There is no trace of the ancient classics until the second half of the fourteenth

[59]Charles, *Roger Bacon,* 118 ff., 124. The following quotation from Bacon's *Greek Grammar* shows his independent method in the study of language and incidentally also his knowledge of the ancient classics: "Capio quidem maxime sequi istos, Bedam, Priscianum, Donatum [notice that he does not mention the authors of the *Doctrinale* or the *Graecismus*], Servium, Lucanum, Iuvenalem, Stachium, Horacium, Persium, Iuvencum, Aratorem, Prudencium, Paulinum, Prosperum, Sedulium, Isidorum, Plinium, quia hi sunt de antiquioribus et certioribus et qui plus sciverunt de greco et per consequens de grammatica latinorum. Huguccionem vero et Papiam non recipio nisi ubi alij confirmant eos, quia in pluribus erronei sunt, quia nescierunt grecum. Et Britonem in tractatu suo de vocalibus grammaticis nolo sequi in aliquo, quia ubique errat, vel dubia dicit vel vana, vel probaciones legitimas non affert sui capitis stulticia obstinatus." *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon and a fragment of his Hebrew Grammar,* ed. Nolan-Hirsch, 37. (Quoted by Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden,* 416, n. 8.).

[60]*Opus Maius,* pt. III, ed. Bridges, I, 66. Also *passim* in this and the other works of Roger Bacon. See also especially Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden,* 413.

[61]Unless perhaps an echo of them may be found in the provisions of the Council of Vienne, 1312, that at the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca there should be established chairs for the teaching of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Chaldaean, two for each language. The only avowed object was to prepare students for missionary work. Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* II, 154. That this decree did not become a dead letter (Thurot, *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris,* 85, says it did) may be gathered from Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* II, 293.

century.[62] Apparently *Priscian* alone remained. His books are the only grammar texts prescribed in the statutes of 1252 and 1255.[63] But even *Priscian* was not studied seriously as is evident from the oaths, dating some time before 1366, which bachelors in arts were obliged to take when they came up for their license. Among other things they were to swear that they had read both *Priscians,* but that oath might be dispensed with.[64] Likewise they must take oath that they had studied at Paris in the faculty of arts for three years, but it was understood that this signified arts *without* grammar.[65] Thus grammar was considered as scarcely belonging to the more serious work of the arts course. The statutes of 1366 are still plainer; *Priscian* is not mentioned at all; it is stipulated that candidates for the bachelor's degree in arts must be well versed in grammar and must have heard the *Doctrinale* and the *Graecismus*—the first mention of these books in the statutes of the university. It was sufficient however if the candidates had read them in any other university or even in any other school where grammar was taught.[66] Indeed, most of such instruction was done in the lesser schools of Paris.[67] Thus grammar now was hardly more than an entrance requirement to the important work of the arts course which consisted of logic and philosophy.

This woeful decline in the study of grammar at Paris and other northern universities naturally produced a proportionate

[62]See below, p. 61.

[63]Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 228, 278.

[64]"Primo, quod audivistis Priscianum majorem et Priscianum minorem semel ordinarie et bis cursorie, vel e contra (*De isto dispensatur*)." Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* II, 678.

[65]"Item, quod studuistis Parisius in facultate artium per tres annos (*Per facultatem fuit interpretatum quod istud intelligitur absque gramatica, et quod sufficit fuisse* [*studuisse?*] *per duos annos complete, et attingere tertium*)." *Ibid.*

[66]"Item statuimus auctoritate predicta quod scolares antequam ad determinandum in artibus admittantur, congrue sint in grammatica edocti, et Doctrinale et Grecismum audiverint; dummodo in studiis aut aliis locis, ubi grammaticalia didicerint, dicti libri legentur." Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* III, 145.

[67]Thurot, *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris,* 93; Rashdall, *Universities,* II, 597; Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* III, 51, 658.

decline in the purity and elegance of spoken and written Latin. Already toward the middle of the thirteenth century the logicians of Paris had been taunted by the author of the *Battle of the Seven Arts* for their corrupt style.[68] Denifle has shown how the neglect of grammar, including the ancient classics, led to a marked deterioration in the style of the charters which issued from the University of Paris especially during the first seventy years of the fourteenth century.[69] Giry has made the same observation in regard to the language of charters in general.[70] In northern Europe, during the century roughly from 1250 to 1350, the study of language and literature was at its very lowest ebb.[71]

In Italy the decline of grammar was due chiefly to the popularity of law and the *ars dictaminis* as will be shown at length in the next chapter.[72] While the *ars dictaminis* was at its height in the first half of the thirteenth century, grammar was sadly eclipsed at Bologna, but even at that time it was not neglected entirely.

[68]Logic sent a messenger to the camp of Grammar to arrange terms of peace; but his speech was so faulty that he could scarcely be understood and hence his proposals were not listened to. However, Logic comforted him and took him back into her high tower to continue to teach him to fly while he was still but learning to walk.

"Mès Logique le conforta,
En sa haute tor l'en porta,
Si li voloit fere voler
Ainçois que il peüst aler."

vv. 394-397; Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli*, 57.

[69]Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium*, III, Introductio, x.

[70]Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, 462.

[71]The conditions at Paris were representative of those everywhere north of the Loire River and in England. To be sure at Oxford and especially at the Franciscan School there, men like Robert Grosseteste, Thomas and Adam Marsh and Roger Bacon stood awhile for quite opposite tendencies—but long before the end of the thirteenth century their disciples had been drawn into the current of Paris. Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden*, 412, 423-24.

[72]Thurot lays rather too much stress on this when he says, "En résumé, la grammaire, en Italie, tout en recevant du nord sa terminologie et ses doctrines, a été cultivée en vue d'un but tout pratique; elle a été subordonnée a l'art d'écrire des lettres, qui était lui-même une annexe de l'étude du droit," *Notices et Extraits*, XXII, pt. 2, 93.

Thus a certain master Bene was employed in 1218 to teach grammar at Bologna.[73] Although he was much interested in the popular *ars dictaminis*, and even wrote a manual of it, nevertheless he gained fame chiefly as a grammarian.[74] By the statutes of the city of Bologna in 1250, masters in grammar were exempted from military service just as were the doctors of law.[75] During the second half of that century, when the *ars dictaminis* had lost some of its prestige, there were many distinguished professors of grammar at Bologna.[76] An additional proof of a rather healthy interest in grammar in northern Italy has been furnished lately by the discovery of the *Compendium Grammaticae* written in the last half of the thirteenth century by an Italian named Caesar.[77] Unlike the new grammars of northern Europe, the *Compendium* is in prose. Throughout, in method and often in form, it is based upon *Priscian*. Illustrations are taken from Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan and Juvenal. The author knew the *Doctrinale* and *Graecismus* very well but he rarely follows them. In many ways he improved upon the former; indeed, his book was designed to compete with it.[78] The *Compendium* was even used at the University of Paris [79] and the fact that several copies of it have come down to us shows that it must have been quite popular.[80] Caesar's manual well illustrates the practical tendencies in grammar as taught by the Italians. The methods of the school-

[73]Sarti-Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus*, II, 240.

[74]Gaudenzi, "Sulle Opere dei Dettatori Bolognesi," in *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano*, No. 14 (1895), 153.

[75]Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I, 205.

[76]Sarti-Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus*, I, 606-07, names especially Gerardus Cremonensis, Gerardus de Amandola, Bonacius Bergomas and Johannes Andreae.

[77]Fierville, *Une Grammaire Latine inédite du XIIIe Siècle*. See especially pp. x and xxvi of the *Avant-Propos* for a discussion of the authorship of the work. It must have been written after 1252 for it contains modified extracts from the *Summa Dictaminis* of Ponce of Provence which was written in that year. See p. 116.

[78]Fierville, xv-xxvi.

[79]Fierville, vi.

[80]Fierville, viii.

men never got a firm foothold in the peninsula and therefore speculative grammar did not find favor as in the north of Europe.[81] Unfortunately, not much can be learned about the actual work in grammar done at the Italian universities. The Statutes of Bologna reveal that it was considered a distinct branch of the arts course as were philosophy, astrology, logic and rhetoric.[82] Students might graduate in any one of these or in several or all of them;[83] hence there were special students and even doctors in grammar.[84] At the beginning of the fifteenth century candidates for promotion in grammar were examined in *Priscianus maior* and *minor*.[85] That may have been all that was done in grammar at Bologna, but probably here as elsewhere the history of the work in the arts course can not be read from the statutes alone. It may safely be said however that there was nothing remarkable, nothing that had not been excelled in good schools during the century before the rise of universities. On the whole it appears that grammar fared almost as badly in Italian universities as in those of northern Europe.

At the universities of southern France we meet with some interesting exceptional conditions in the study of grammar. Here the influence of Aristotle was not so dominant as in the north and law and medicine occupied a higher position. Perhaps also in this land of the troubadours a stronger literary instinct helped to prevent metaphysics from completely overriding the study of language. Whatever may have been the causes, grammar flourished here more than it did anywhere else in Europe.

The statutes of the University of Toulouse furnish the best data. When this institution was founded in 1229, an interesting

[81]Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 91-92. Thurot calls attention to the fact that the most popular dictionaries of the Middle Ages came from Italy and that Italian grammarians translated many words and phrases into the vulgar tongue.

[82]Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese,* 287. See also Rashdall, *Universities,* I, 211

[83]Malagola, *Statuti,* 488-89.

[84]Malagola, *Statuti,* 257.

[85]Malagola, *Statuti,* 488.

circular letter was sent out as an advertisement.[86] It merely mentions the different subjects that were to be taught but among these grammar is named separately along with theology, Aristotelian logic and philosophy, church music, civil law and medicine. Fourteen masters were provided for; in theology four, two in law, six in the liberal arts (i. e. in logic and philosophy), and two in grammar. The salary of the masters in logic was twenty "marks" per year, that of the masters in grammar ten "marks."[87] Thus at the very beginning grammar obtained an independent standing at Toulouse such as it probably did not have at Paris even at this early date.[88]

Until 1328 nothing more definite can be learned regarding grammar at Toulouse. In that year a statute was drawn up containing a program of lectures for the masters in grammar. This proposed simply to regulate existing customs, therefore the books prescribed had been read at Toulouse before 1328 but how long before it is impossible to say[89]

The program was as follows:

In the morning during the winter, after having conducted

[86]Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 439; also in Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 129.

[87]Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 441.

[88]John Garland was one of these first two masters in grammar. One is tempted to conjecture that the good start which grammar got at Toulouse was due to his influence.

[89]"Item, cum secundum usum et consuetudinem studii Tholosani et magistrorum tam in artibus quam in grammatica, sint pro lecturis totius anni tam ordinariis quam extraordinariis certi libri ordinati, et de artistis tantum est in statuto, [see appendix I], et etiam grammatici in yeme legere debeant de mane, post determinationem sui proverbii cum questionibus, Priscianum majorem et immediate postea de Doctrinali et post de Alexandro, et post comestionem, post declarationem puerorum faciendam per bacallarium principalem et repetitionem lectionum, habeant dicti magistri in grammatica tempore hiemali in nonis legere de Ebrardo, de Historiis Alexandri et Hympnis et de Metrificatura, in horis et temporibus per eos ordinatis et consuetis, et in vacationibus Nativitatis Domini habeant legere predicti magistri Actores et Compotum manualem; et in estate, loco Prisciani majoris, de mane legant de Regimine et de Constructione et postea unam lectionem doctrinalis de Declinationibus a principio inchoando et continuando a principio Alexandri, et continuare habeant de cetero lectionem Ebrardi, sic quod Ebrardus finitus sit revoluto toto hyemis tempore et estate." Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 501.

a grammatical lesson on proverbs, the masters in grammar were to lecture on *Priscianus maior,* and immediately after on the *Doctrinale* and *Alexander.*

After the midday meal when a recitation had been held by the principal bachelor and the lectures had been repeated, the masters were to teach in winter, *Ebrardus,* the *Historiae Alexandri, Hympni* and *Metrificatura.*

During the Christmas vacation they were to teach the *Actores* and *Compotus.*

In summer, in place of *Priscianus maior,* they were to read the eighth, ninth and first chapters of the *Doctrinale,* namely *de Regimine, de Constructione* and *de Declinationibus.* Besides, they were to continue *Alexander* and finish *Ebrardus.*

Much later statutes of the University of Toulouse, dated 1426 and 1489, still mention the *Doctrinale, Ebrardus, Alexander* and *Priscianus maior* as the grammatical books in common use at the university[90].

At Perpignan, about 1380-1390, a course in grammar was given very similar to that outlined above.[91] The standard books here as at Toulouse were the *Doctrinale, Ebrardus, Alexander* and *Priscian* if there was any demand for him. Besides, masters taught *Compotus* and *Hymni.* Bachelors reading in *"lectorio minori"* taught the *auctores* which are here defined as *"Cathonem,*

[90]See below, p. 59.

[91]"Item, magistri legentes grammaticalia teneantur complere *Doctrinale, Ebreardum et Alexandrum* in festo Sancti Johannis, et teneantur legere compotum, ymnos, temporibus consuetis. Et teneantur facere duo proverbia de mane et duo de vespere, et probare nomina vel verba [legendo vel ....] de mane et de vespere, et etiam reaudire a scolaribus de vespere lectiones consuetas ab ipsis de mane lectas; et *Priscianum* legere si fuerint audientes.

Item baccallarii legentes in lectorio minori legant auctores consuetos, videlicet: *Cathonem, Contentum et Thobiam,* et teneantur facere duo proverbia de mane et duo de vespere et reaudire lectiones lectas et probare nomina et verba in proverbiis supradictis.

Item statuimus insuper quod scolares audientes tam logicam quam grammaticam habeant ad minus ter vel bis in septimana disputare, magistro presente. Et si in materia disputata aliquod fuerit dubium, illud magister habeat declarare." Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 678.

Contentum et *Tobiam.*" Masters as well as bachelors were also obliged to compose proverbs and to explain the grammatical accidents of the nouns and verbs found in them. Provision was made for daily recitations and two or three times a week the students, in the presence of masters, were obliged to hold disputations on grammatical subjects.

In all probability a course very much like that at Toulouse and Perpignan was given at other universities of southern France. The statutes yield meagre information but masters in grammar are mentioned at the universities of Cahors[92] and Orange,[93] and in inventories of the goods of students of Avignon most of the above grammatical books are listed.[94] Even at the northern university of Orleans masters and scholars in grammar are spoken of in a statute of the year 1312.[95] At about the same time the *Doctrinale* and *Cato* were in use there.[96]

The above details show that at least at the universities of Toulouse and Perpignan the study of grammar was an important branch in the curriculum. True, the ancient classics were not read, but the amount of grammatical instruction was comparatively large. A *resumé* with explanations will be necessary to make the course perfectly clear.

The chief books were the famous *Doctrinale* and *Graecismus.*[97] They had probably been introduced into Toulouse long before 1328 when the statutes first mention them. A manuscript at Amiens (No. 427) contains a commentary on the *Doctrinale* copied at Toulouse in 1291.[98] The third standard grammatical text was the *Alexander* which probably was the *"Glossary"* of Alexander of Villedieu designed to supplement his *Doctrinale.*[99]

[92]Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 544 (A. D. 1343); 547 (A. D. 1367).

[93]Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 718 (A. D. 1365).

[94]Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 453-61 (A. D. 1459).

[95]Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 40.

[96]Delisle, *Le Formulaire de Tréguier,* Appendice, No. X. See also Haskins, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.,* III, 220, note 3.

[97]See above, p. 36.

[98]*Journal des Savants,* Nov. 1894, p. 706.

[99]See above, p. 38, and Appendix III.

The fourth regular text-book was *Priscianus maior.* There are clear indications however that *Priscian* was dropping into the background. The Toulouse program (1328) provided that it was not to be read in the summer term but that in its stead the first, eighth, and ninth chapters of the *Doctrinale* were to be substituted. Now the eighth and ninth chapters treat of syntax, and we have seen that it was exactly in syntax that *Priscian* was weak and the *Doctrinale* especially strong.[1] This is a good illustration of the way in which the old standard text-book was crowded out by the new partly because the latter better supplied the current demands. Towards the close of the fourteenth century *Priscian* was so unpopular at Perpignan that he was to be read only "if there were any hearers." A little further along in the same document it is prescribed that students in grammar should hold disputations, showing how completely grammar had come into the domain of dialectic. *Priscian* provided no food for the speculative method whereas in the grammars of Alexander of Villedieu and Eberhard of Bethune there was an abundance of it. Add to all this that the old text-book was in prose whereas the new ones were in the popular form of verse and it is not surprising that *Priscian* rapidly lost ground even in these southern universities where grammar was studied mostly seriously.

According to ancient custom some reading was done in connection with the study of technical grammar. The Toulouse statutes simply mention *"Actores"* or authors. In twelfth century documents *actores* or *auctores*[2] can be safely translated *"classical* authors," but in the course of the thirteenth century the word obtained a very restricted meaning[3]. Light is thrown on the "Actores" of Toulouse by the program of Perpignan in which the *"auctores consuetos"* are given as *"Corthonem, Contentum et Thobiam."* Probably the *actores* of Toulouse were the

[1]See above, p. 37.

[2]Almost always, in manuscripts of the thirteenth century onward we find *actor* and not *auctor* in the sense of author. Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 103, n. 2.

[3]Denifle, *Die Universitäten,* I, 758, n. 19.

same as those at Perpignan. Throughout the later Middle Ages *actores* usually signified the elementary reading books *Cato, Aesopus* and *Avianus*.[4] *Cato* was a small collection of maxims and proverbs made about 300 A. D. and arranged in the form of couplets in hexameter.[5] *Aesopus* and *Avianus* both were collections of fables. *Aesopus* was a selection ultimately based upon those of Phaedrus (first century A. D.) consisting each of three to eight distichs.[6] *Avianus* (fourth or fifth century A. D.) composed forty-two Aesopean fables in elegiac metre each consisting of seven or eight distichs.[7] These works, which, taken together, formed the first reader in medieval schools, were often rewritten, rearranged and augmented to suit the taste and genius of successive generations. Thus we still have a fragment of a *Novus Avianus* of Alexander Neckam (d. 1227).[8] Sometimes other books were also designated *actores*.[9] Such was the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme mentioned in the statute of Perpignan.[10] The title *Contentum* seems to be erroneous. Perhaps it should read *Cornutum*. The *Cornutus* or *Distigium Cornuti* was a short collection of distichs full of Greco-Latin and strange Latin words with extensive explanations in the margin.[11] It is usually as-

[4]Voigt, "Das Erste Lesebuch des Triviums in den Kloster-und Stiftsschulen des Mittelalters."

[5]Appuhn, *Das Trivium*, 35.

[6]The so-called Romulus wrote a prose version of the fables of Phaedrus not later than the tenth century. The *Aesopus* in question was a versification of the first three books of Romulus. Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, I, 37; Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, Einleitung, xviii.

[7]Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, II, 444. The great authoritative work on these and similar books is Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*.

[8]Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, II, 445. Published by Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, III, 402 ff; for other imitators see pp. 317 ff.

[9]Carré, *L'Enseignement Secondaire à Troyes*, 19, speaking of the first half of the fifteenth century says that there were then eight or nine books that might be spoken of as *actores*. He names: (1) *Cato*, (2) *Theodulus*, (3) *Facetus*, (4) *Carmen de contempti mundi*, (5) *Tobias Mathai Vindocinensis*, (6) *Fabulae Esopi*, (7) *Alani parabolae*, (8) *Floretus*.

[10]For a description of the *Tobias* see above, p. 24.

[11]Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, pt. I, 390.

cribed to John Garland.[12] This little treatise offered the best possible materials for speculations on points of grammar and thus may well have been esteemed by the masters and students at Perpignan who held disputations on grammar two or three times a week.[13] At Toulouse lectures were also given *"de Historiis Alexandri"* which probably signifies the *Alexandreis* of Gautier of Lille, the popular epic poem on the deeds of Alexander the Great.[14].

Thus at these southern universities, not only was technical grammar taught better than elsewhere, but in connection with it more literature was read than at any other university.[15] To be sure, it is a sad comment on the neglect of the ancient classics that *actores* should now designate such books as have been described, but it was better to read them than none at all.[16] In addition, the course in grammar included *Metrificatura,* the art of composition in verse; also music and *Compotus,* the art of reckoning church festivals, which was a relic of the old *quadrivium.*

The most striking fact about grammar at these universities of southern France is that it constituted a separate faculty at some of them and that they often granted degrees in grammar.

[12]Hauréau, in *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* XXXII, 463-66. See however Liebl, *Die Disticha Cornuti,* 35. Liebl prints the *Distigium.* Also found in Wright, *A Volume of Vocabularies.*

[13]Liebl, *Die Disticha Cornuti,* 27, note, points out that the *Cornutus* probably was treated in the schools in like manner as *Cato.*

[14]See above, p. 24.

[15]Denifle, *Die Universitäten,* I, 758, n. 19, says that the last trace of *actores* of any description at medieval universities is found at Palencia in 1220. He evidently entirely overlooked what we have learned about Toulouse and Perpignan.

[16]It may seem strange that an elementary book like *Cato* should be read at a university. At some of these southern institutions, however, the students were very young. Thus at Toulouse the rules of one college provided that no one under eight or above twenty-five years of age could be admitted (Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 553 A. D. 1337.). All scholars above ten years were obliged to take an oath of obedience to the rector (Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 472 [XVII] A. D. 1311.). A college at Cahors placed the minimum age for entrance at nine years (Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 562 A. D. 1371.).

In the circular letter which issued from the new University of Toulouse in 1229, a distinction was already made between "logicians teaching liberal arts" and mere grammarians.[17] Likewise, in the document providing for the salaries of the various masters the same distinction was made between masters of arts and those of grammar.[18]

In 1309 the faculty of arts at Toulouse drew up an elaborate program of studies without reference to grammar.[19] A little later, in 1328, by a general convocation of the whole university, the lectures of the masters of grammar were separately regulated as we have seen.[20] Evidently the masters of grammar were quite distinct from those of arts. A statute of 1329 actually mentions a *faculty* of grammar.[21] The same statute gave the masters in grammar a monopoly of the teaching of their branch in the city of Toulouse. Henceforth no *pedagogi* as they are called were to teach in Toulouse or its suburbs those books which masters in grammar were accustomed to use, namely the *Doctrinale*, *Ebrardus*, *Alexander* and *Priscianus*, unless they had first obtained a license from the proper authorities. This shows the importance of grammar at the university and at the same time the organization of the faculty of grammar into a body of authority.[22]

After the full development of the system of degrees the three grades were, bachelor, licentiate, and master.[23] All these

[17]Logici liberalibus in artibus tyrones Aristotelis eruderant, grammatici balbutientium lingua in analogiam effigiant." Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 440; Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium*, I, 130.

[18]"singuli magistri artium habebunt viginti marcas usque ad decennium similiter annuatim; uterque magistrorum artis grammatice habebit similiter annuatim decem marcas usque ad decennium." Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 441, (A. D. 1229).

[19]See Appendix I. The only grammatical book mentioned was *Priscianus minor* which for some reason or other was not taught by professors of grammar.

[20]See above, p. 50.

[21]"Bertrandum de Verniolis, magistrum in grammatica et in artibus, actu [legens] in grammatica facultate." Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 502.

[22]Molinier, in Devic et Vaissette, *Histoire de Languedoc*, VII, 603, says that the faculty of arts at Toulouse included grammar, logic, and medicine. The statutes do not bear this out.

[23]See Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 443-462, and index for these words.

were conferrred by the faculty of grammar at Toulouse at least as early as the first half of the fourteenth century.

Masters in grammar were mentioned as early as 1229[24] but that scarcely justifies the conclusion that a regular master's degree in the subject was conferred at that early date. Probably at that time it was merely a title assumed without the formalities attendant upon the taking of degrees. But when the faculty of grammar had taken definite shape in the fourteenth century regular degrees in that subject were granted at Toulouse. The license is plainly mentioned in a statute of the year 1311.[25] Another dated 1329 speaks of licentiates in grammar coming up to make their *principium*,[26] the solemn entrance into the mastership.[27] Masters in grammar are frequently met with. We have seen that they alone could confer on *pedagogi* of Toulouse the license to teach. The bachelor's degree in grammar was also given as early as 1328. In the program of that year mention is made of a "principal bachelor" in grammar who was to conduct recitations on the lectures which the masters had given.[28] A statute of the following year again distinctly refers to bachelors in grammar.[29] This is enough to show that at Toulouse, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, there was a regular succession of degrees in grammar—bachelor, licentiate, master.[30]

[24]See above, p. 50.

[25]"et tunc unusquisque licentiandus dare tenebitur, in die licentie sue, si sit grammaticus, artista vel medicus x solidos." Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 472 (XXVII).

[26]For this ceremony as conducted at Paris in conferring the mastership of arts, etc., see Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 286.

[27]"quod de cetero nullus licentiatus vel licentiandus tam in artibus quam in grammatica sit ausus sum solempne principium facere nisi sub magistro sub quo licentiatus extiterit." Fournier, *Statuts* I, 502.

[28]See above, p. 51.

[29]"Que sub juramento volumus tam per magistros quam magistrandos et scholares et bacallarios et licentiatos tam in artibus quam in grammatica . . . observari." Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 503.

[30]Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 241, n. 2, says: "The Stat. of 1428 [of the University of Vienna] is the earliest allusion to such degrees [in grammar] that I have been able to find in any University North of the Alps." Then, p. 598, he goes into a full discussion of degrees in grammar at Oxford in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Evidently Rashdall did not realize the importance of grammar at the

Various scattered bits of evidence render it altogether likely that other universities in southern France had distinct faculties of grammar and conferred degrees in that subject just as at Toulouse. At Perpignan there were bachelors in grammar who repeated the lectures of the masters,[31] and we have seen that certain bachelors taught the accustomed "authors." At Orange, in 1365, express mention was made of a faculty of grammar.[32] Likewise at Cahors in 1365 we read of masters in that art; so again in 1367.[33] Towards the close of the fourteenth century Avignon must have had a flourishing department of grammar for in two lists of students sent to the Pope in 1394 appear the names of 115 students in arts and 79 in grammar.[34] Apparently all these universities looked to Toulouse as a model.

Thus, at a time when grammar was scarcely considered as a serious part of university work at Paris, it was in a most flourishing condition at Toulouse and other universities of southern France. Nothing could be more instructive than a list of students of Toulouse sent to the Pope in 1378.[35] As against only 246 students in arts there were 295 in grammar. There is every reason to believe that the latter devoted their whole time to

universities of southern France. On p. 163, n. 3, he wrote: "Grammar [at Toulouse] is always treated as a distinct Faculty, though scholars of the Faculty were often children under ten;" but he makes no more of this and says nothing whatever of degrees in grammar at Toulouse. He looked to Germany and England to find the first evidences of degrees in grammar as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, whereas in the south of France such degrees were already conferred early in the fourteenth.

For an account of the faculty of grammar at Cambridge and Oxford see also Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Deutschen Universitäten* I, 320, n. 1.

[31]"Baccalarii tam in gramatica quam in logica teneantur repetere in propriis personis ordinarios lectiones lectas in scolis publicis a magistris eorumdum." Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 670 (XXV-4).

[32]"et alii sufficientes magistri in facultate grammatice actu legunt." Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 718.

[33]Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 546, 547.

[34]Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 361-69.

[35]Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 646-53.

some such a course as was outlined in 1328.[36] This shows that the faculty of grammar at Toulouse had grown steadily in importance. That is also illustrated by the outcome of a quarrel which arose in 1426 between two regent masters in grammar and a certain master in arts teaching logic.[37] The latter held that he had a right to lecture on *Priscianus minor* without a license from the regent masters in grammar, notwithstanding the statute of 1329 concerning the licensing of *pedagogi.* Two arbiters were appointed and they decided that the aforesaid master of arts might lecture on *Priscianus minor* because by the statute of 1309 the masters in arts had been given the right to lecture on that one grammatical book;[38] but no one, be he even a master of arts, had a right to teach the *Doctrinale, Ebrardus, Alexander* and *Priscianus major* without a license from the regent masters in grammar. Any other grammatical books, except those sacred four, might be taught freely without a license.

A similar quarrel arose in 1489 between two regent masters, one in grammar, the other in arts.[39] The master in arts had presumed to lecture on the *Doctrinale, Ebrardus,* etc., in his own house. The regent master in grammar complained of this. Again it was decided, after referring to the old provisions of 1309, 1328 and 1329, that every master in arts or logic must secure a license before he might lecture on these four books mentioned in the ancient statutes.

Strange spectacle in a medieval university! Masters in the logic of the mighty Aristotle going a-begging for permission to teach the *Doctrinale*! Here at least the palm which grammar had lost in the twelfth century was once more yielded to her by logic. But grammar was no longer what she had been even in those latter days when she gathered many classical authors about her under the walls of Orleans and fought a losing fight

[36]At Perpignan (1393) a student is named who had studied grammar four years (Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 682); at Avignon (1394) one who had studied it three years (Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 362 [86.]).

[37]Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 770.

[38]See above, p. 56, n. 19; and Appendix I.

[39]Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 873.

against logic of Paris in the *"Battle of the Seven Arts."*[40] In spite of the growing interest in grammar in southern France there was no improvement in method. When humanism was fairly seething all about them, when it would have been so easy to improve grammatical instruction by again reading the ancient poets and historians, as Quintilian and Rabanus Maurus and John of Salisbury had advocated, these universities clung passionately to the time-worn *Doctrinale* and *Graecismus* which even a John Garland had condemned in the thirteenth century. Strange conservatism of the schools!

As we approach the period of Petrarch our curiosity is naturally aroused to see whether any universities took part in the revival of learning and whether grammatical instruction was improved anywhere by a deeper study of philology and a better appreciation of classical literature.

We look first to Italy. In 1321 at Bologna the study of formal rhetoric was revived. A professor taught Cicero and at the same time the art of Latin composition including letter writing.[41] In the same year the students petitioned for a doctor in poetry. Accordingly, Antonio de Virgilio was appointed at a large salary to lecture on Virgil, Statius, Lucan and Ovid.[42] Three years later a salary was bestowed upon a certain master Vitale, doctor in grammar, to lecture on Cicero and the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid.[43] This was a good beginning along those lines of reform which Petrarch was soon to advocate; but the fair promise had no fulfillment. After this one gleam of the revival of classical letters at the University of Bologna the darkness settled down again. Statutes of the beginning of the fifteenth century reveal that Cicero was still the basis of instruction in rhetoric;[44] but that is all. What was true of Bologna was also

[40]See above, p. 19.

[41]Ghirardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna*, II, 17.

[42]Ghirardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna*, II, 19.

[43]Ghirardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna*, II, 56.

[44]Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese*, 488.

generally true of other Italian universities.[45] In tracing the history of the revival of learning in Italy the great universities may be passed by almost without notice.

At the universities of England and Germany the story is much the same. At Oxford, in 1431, the following books were recommended for rhetoric: the rhetorics of Aristotle and Cicero, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the *"Poetria Virgilii."* These however were but minor elements of the course in arts which still bore the general features of the conventional thirtenth century course.[46] Even at the newer German universities, which were not so fast rooted in tradition, the humanistic tendencies were slow to gain entrance.[47]

At Paris there was a sporadic revival of classical literature about the middle of the fourteenth century quite independent of that in Italy. The first indication of a new spirit was the French translation of Livy and other classics by Pierre Bersuire.[48] Jean de Montreuil (b. 1354) was the first real humanist in France.[49] Pierre d'Ailly (1350-1420), who with his humanistically inclined friend Gerson,[50] represented the University of Paris at the Council of Constance, has left a very interesting list of authors which were known at Paris at the end of the fourteenth century. Pierre writes as if he had actually received instruction in the works of the following: Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Seneca, Terence, Sallust, Quintilian, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Martial and Macrobius.[51]

[45]See e. g. what Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums,* I, says about Florence (p. 339) and Pavia (p. 515). See also Rashdall, *Universities,* II, 37, 49.

[46]Rashdall, *Universities,* II, 457.

[47]Kaufman, *Geschichte der Deutschen Universitäten,* II, 480-82; 509.

[48]Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* III, Introductio, xi; also 3-7. He is mentioned as a student at Paris in 1351.

[49]Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung,* II, 344; Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship,* II, 166.

[50]Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung,* II, 343.

[51]"In primo scole philosophorum ingressu, ait, sermocinalium scientiarum, grammatice videlicet et logice, rhetorice et poetice artis doctores invenio, qui omnes juxta sue facultatem doctrine michi aliquid afferunt; alii grammaticalia *Prisciani*

In 1367 Petrarch, in a letter to Pope Urban V, had derided the French as barbarians among whom there could be no orators or poets. This taunt was immediately answered by a certain Jean de Hesdin who in his letter gave evidence of a great deal of classical learning.[52] In that same letter Petrarch had also made the milder statement that oratory and poetry were taught more extensively in Italy than in any other country. Even against this a younger French humanist, Nicolas de Clemanges (1360-1440?), protested somewhat later in these words: "I answer that they are also taught quite generally elsewhere. I myself have often seen that the rhetorics of Cicero and Aristotle were read at the University of Paris publicly and privately; likewise Virgil, the greatest of poets, and Terence."[53] Denifle has shown how clearly the hands of the French humanists can be traced in the improved style of the documents which emanated from the university at this time.[54] All the writings of Nicolas are distinguished by a most excellent style. Later in life however he turned away from the classical studies of his youth and devoted himself wholly to theology. In his altered mood he often warned Jean de Montreuil not to allow himself to be carried away by the worship of Apollo and the muses.[55]

Just as Nicolas de Clemanges deserted the ancient authors whom he had loved in his youth, so in the fifteenth century the

rudimenta, alii logicalia *Aristotelis* argumenta, alii rhetorica *Tullii* blandimenta, alii poetica integumenta *Virgilii,* nec solum ista, quinymmo *Ovidii* presentant fabulas, *Fulgentii* Mithologias, Odas *Oratii,* Ormestas *Orosii, Juvenalis* Satiras, *Senece* Tragedias, Comedias *Therentii,* Invectivas *Salustii, Sydonii* Epistolas, *Cassiodori* Formulas, Declamationes *Quintiliani,* Decades *Titi Livii, Valerii* [Maximi] Epythomata, *Marcialis* Epygrammata, Centones *Omeri,* Saturnalia *Macrobii,* et generaliter singula, que vel suavis liram Rhetorice, vel gravis Poetrie musam resonant." Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* III, Introductio, xi-xii.

[52]Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung,* II, 333.

[53]"Respondeo id in aliis partibus etiam plerumque fieri. Vidi ego in studio Parisiaco sepe Tullianam publice legi rhetoricam, sepe item privatim, nonnunquam etiam Aristotelicam, poeteque summi et optimi Virgilius atque Terentius illic etiam sepe leguntur." Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* III, Introductio, xi.

[54]Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* III, Introductio, xii.

[55]Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung,* II, 348, 355.

University of Paris slipped back into the old rut and the humanistic movement came to a sudden end. Even before 1400, the letters and statutes of the university were again written in a deplorable style. In the second half of the fifteenth century William Fichet, who was rector of the university in 1467, stood forth as a rather solitary champion of good Latin and of the classics. In the morning he taught theology and philosophy, in the afternoon rhetoric and the humanities. His manual on rhetoric was an epoch-making book in France.[56] He saw a future full of promise. Writing to a friend in 1472 he described how everybody at Paris had been ignorant of Cicero and of good Latin when he came to the University, but that now a new epoch had begun. That year Fichet left for Italy and with him departed the enthusiasm for belles lettres.[57] It is said that the theologian Dullardus was wont to say to Fichet: "The better grammarian you are, the worse dialectician and theologian."[58] An edict of king Louis XI in 1473 recalled to the masters and students of Paris that Pope Gregory the Great had long ago warned the youth against the sweet bewitching orations of Cicero, which warning, the king thought, should still be heeded.[59] As a whole the university did give heed and closed its doors to the influences from Italy. At Paris the full tide of humanism did not set in until the foundation of the Collège de France in 1530.[60]

Very little can be said about the universities of southern France in spite of the fact that formal grammar became more and more popular there. At Perpignan, towards the close of the fourteenth century, "poets" are mentioned in addition to gram-

[56]Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire.*

[57]Lavisse, *Histoire de France,* IV, pt. 2, 443.

[58]"quanto eris melior grammaticus, tanto pejor dialecticus et theologus", Thurot, *De Alex. de Villa Dei Doctrinali,* 61.

[59]Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa,* II, 726, note.

[60]Lavisse, *Histoire de France,* V, pt. 1, 291-95. For sporadic attempts to introduce the study of Greek and oriental languages see Thurot, *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris,* 85.

marians and artists.[61] About the same time, in an inventory of the goods of a student of the same university are listed a copy of Dante, several works of Ovid and Sallust.[62] In a similar inventory of the goods of a student at Avignon, dated 1459, appear various works of Ovid, copies of Virgil, Juvenal and Seneca and the *Famous Women* of Boccaccio.[63] Near the close of the fifteenth century, in 1496, we at length come upon a true humanistic course in arts at the University of Montpellier. It is an outline of work which was offered by John Dionysius, a master of arts.[64]

[61]"quod nullus phisicus, poeta, gramaticus vel artista, exceptis pueris qui nondum etatis sue annum XIIII compleverunt," etc. Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 674 [XXXV] (1380-1390?).

[62]Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 690.

[63]Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 453-58.

[64]"Secuntur libri quos proponit Johannes Dionisius, magister artium, interpretari.

In philosophia:

Gorgium in octo libris phisicorum, vel, si melius videatur, in hiis qui sunt *De generatione, De anima metheorum.* [sic. Probably should read, *De anima, Metheorum.*]

In logica:

Parvum Gorgium, declarationibus magistri Johannis Dorp, Guillermi Okam, Petri de Alhaco, Alberii de Saxonia adhibitis.

In gramaticalibus:

Alexandrum in quattuor partibus, commento, ex hiis que a Laurentio de valla, Sericio, Prisciano, Donato assistuntur [adhibito.]

In arte oratoria:

Terentium ante prandium, ut consuevit; vespere, Virgilium in Eneyde, vel Julium *De officiis,* Juvenalem, Persum, secundum optionem dominorum consulum et audientium capacitatem.

Item, quamcumque interpretetur, vult Perotum interpretari *De dictandis epistolis,* tamquam maxime necessarium juvenibus, et sine quo quemquam juvenum perquam difficile est congrue loqui.

Item, vult habere baccallarium expertum et expertissimum quem invenire poterit in gramaticalibus, qui insistat in formandis partibus, in declinationibus dictionum, et aliis moribus, lectionibus autorum, et in proverbiis componendis, et leget Boecium.

Quumque ipse Dyonisius velit, vi assuetus est in suis redditionibus Terentii,

In philosophy and logic, instead of a long list of Aristotle's works, we find what seem to be mere commentaries on his works on Physics, The Soul and Meteorics by a certain George, probably George of Trebizond (c. 1395-1484) together with a book on logic perhaps by the same author.[65] In addition, there are to be read the works of William Ockham, together with his followers John Dorp, Pierre d'Ailly and Albert of Saxony who revolutionized scholastic thought in the fourteenth century.[66] Grammar was still to be taught from the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu although by this time humanists in Italy and Germany were waging bitter war against it.[67] Dionysius however proposed to supplement it from Priscian and Donatus and also from the treatises of Laurentius Valla who had recently attacked violently the Latinity of scholasticism.[68] The chief innovation in this program was the stress laid upon the *ars oratoria,* which was broadly the art of teaching elegance in speaking and writing Latin. Terence, Virgil, Cicero, Juvenal and Boethius were proposed as a basis for this work, as well as Perotus on the art of letter-writing.[69] The Latin language was to be taught by direct methods, by dwelling upon the parts of speech, on declensions, conjugations and correct reading of the authors.[70]

Virgilii et Julii nullam dictionem intellectu difficilem pretermittere, quin declinet vel conjuget.

Item, in redditionibus Peroti dictare epistolas, ut consuetum est, nam ipsa epistolarum dictatio maximum est proverbiorum componendorum exercitium." Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 278.

[65]For George of Trebizond, one of the staunchest defenders of Aristotelianism against the then prevalent Platonism, see Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung,* II, 137-143, and M. de Wulf, *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale,* 498, 500.

[66]For a discussion of "Ockhamism" see M. de Wulf, *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale,* 444-59.

[67]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, lxxxiii.

[68]I cannot identify "Sericius." Is it Sulpicius?

[69]"Perotus" is probably Niccolo Perotti (1430-1480), one of the most celebrated humanists of his century. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung,* II, 133-137.

[70]Contrast with this program one which was drawn up in 1494 for the northern University of Angers, and which is still the old stereotyped course very similar to that of Paris in the thirteenth century or to that of Toulouse outlined in Appendix I. Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 427.

This particular program, coming so late in the fifteenth century, is permeated with a genuine humanistic flavor; but it is an almost isolated exception which proves the rule that the medieval universities had very little to do with the humanistic movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

CHAPTER III.

Rhetoric. the "Business Course" at Medieval Universities

Of all the seven liberal arts, rhetoric met with the strangest vicissitudes at medieval universities. In Roman times it had been primarily the art of eloquence and as such had had a great vogue, for by means of it a man might rise to eminence as a public speaker in forum or Senate. Throughout the Middle Ages there never was a great demand for able public speakers and therefore rhetoric in the old sense of the word was systematically neglected. Some realized that the rules of eloquence might aid the preacher in the pulpit; but the general opinion was that the word of God should be preached plainly and simply and did not need the embellishment of the rhetoricians. Then again, preaching never became very important in the service of the Church until the thirteenth century. When dialectics had risen to great importance at universities there was enough speaking in public but the disputations of students and masters were applauded for acuteness of the reasoning and not for elegance of diction. In regard to universities of law the same may be said about the pleadings of the lawyers.

Deprived almost absolutely of its most important function, that of training for eloquence, rhetoric lost much of its individuality. Its doctrines were often merged with those of grammar; thus, in the *Graecismus* of Eberhard there is a chapter on the *colores rhetorici*.[1] Frequently it is difficult to draw the line between grammatical and rhetorical instruction. At best the latter was usually but a branch auxiliary to grammar and dialectic.

It is not surprising therefore to find that very little of the old formal medieval rhetoric was taught at the universities. At

[1] Appuhn, *Das Trivium*, 86.

the end of the twelfth century, it was more popular at Paris than it was to be later when the university was fully developed. Gerald of Barri says that as a student at Paris (c. 1170) he distinguished himself especially in rhetoric.[2] Seven years later, he lectured there on canon law and ascribed his success partly to the fact that he employed rhetorical finish in his delivery.[3] The anonymous vocabulary, *Sacerdos ad altare accessurus*,[4] names the following books for rhetoric: Cicero's *De Inventione, De Oratore,* and the pseudo Ciceronian *ad Herennium;* Quintilian's *Institutes* and the pseudo Quintilian *Declamationes* (or *Causae*).[5] This is a rather remarkable program for rhetoric. Even the course at Chartres, when the schools there were at the height of their fame, did not offer so much solid rhetorical instruction.[6] Quintilian's *Institutes* are not often met with in the schools of the Middle Ages.

The earliest statute (1215) prescribing work at the University of Paris already indicates that rhetoric would occupy but an inferior place in the arts course. It was to be read on festival days and the only books mentioned are the fourth book of the *Topics* of Boethius and the *Barbarismus*.[7] Later statutes

[2]Giraldus Cambrensis, *De rebus a se gestis,* ed. Brewer, I, 23.

[3]"Adeo namque vivas legum et canonum rationes introductas rhetoricis persuasionibus adjuvabat; adeoque tam verborum schematibus atque coloribus quam sententiarum medullis causas adornabat, dictaque philosophorum et auctorum miro artificio inserta locis congruis adaptabat." *De rebus a se gestis,* ed. Brewer, I, 45.

[4]See above, p. 15.

[5]"In rethorica educandus legat primam Tulii rethoricam et librum ad Herrenium et Tullium de oratore et causas Quintiliani et Quintilianum de oratoris institutione." Gonville and Caius College MS. 385, p. 53. Now printed, Haskins, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* XX, 92.

[6]Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres, 222.* The books mentioned are: (1) Ciceronis, *De inventione rhetorica libri 2*; (2) *Rhetoricorum ad Herennium libri 4*; (3) Ciceronis *De partitione oratoria dialogus;* (4) J. Severiani *Syntomata ac precepta artis rhetoricae;* (5) Capellae *De rhetorica libri 5.* See however p. 233.

[7]"Non legant in festivis diebus nisi Philosophos et Rhetoricas et Quadruvalia et *Barbarismum,* et *Ethicam,* si placet; et quartum *Topicorum.*" Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 78. For the *Barbarismus* see above, p. 33. Since its subject matter was the figures of speech it was usually classed under rhetoric. In the

add nothing; however it is possible and even probable that in this, as well as in all subjects, books were read which are not mentioned in the statutes. In the second half of the fourteenth century the study of rhetoric was revived as we have learned from Nicolas of Clemanges.[8] On the whole however it is safe to say that formal rhetoric was as badly neglected at Paris as was grammar.

The same was even more true in other French universities. At Toulouse, for example, where a good deal of stress was laid on grammar, not a trace can be found of instruction in old-fashioned rhetoric.

At Bologna and in Italy generally it suffered especially in the thirteenth century, as we shall see, but began to prosper again early in the fourteenth. The establishment of a special chair in rhetoric at Bologna in 1321 has been noted.[9] The information in the statutes is very meagre but we learn that early in the fifteenth century there were distinct examinations and graduations in rhetoric. The books mentioned are the *De Inventione* of Cicero, the pseudo Ciceronian *ad Herennium* and a *Compendium* by Fra Guidotto of Bologna.[10]

At Oxford, at about the same time (1431), the *Rhetoric* of

Battle of the Seven Arts the *Barbarismus* is spoken of as having deserted the camp of Grammar to fight on the side of Logic:

"dant Barbarime
Qui chevauchoit soi cinquantime.
S'ert il homme lige Gramaire
Des meillors genz de son aumaire,
Mès il maintenoit cele guerre,
Qu'el pais Logique avoit terre.
Par trahison estoit tornez
Por ce qu'il ert de Poitou nez."

Henri d'Andeli, *Bataille des .VII. Ars,* vv. 232-239. Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli,* 51-52.

[8]See above, p. 62.

[9]See above, p. 60.

[10]Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese,* 488, and note 3.

Aristotle, the fourth book of the *Topics* of Boethius and the *Nova Rhetorica* of Cicero (probably *ad Herennium*) were read.[11]

There can remain no doubt that the study of formal rhetoric did not flourish at the universities even as much as it had done in the best schools of the early Middle Ages.

But there was one phase of rhetoric which was developed in a remarkable way at the universities. The art of writing well and ornately had always constituted a part of rhetoric although the Roman manuals had naturally subordinated it to the art of speaking. Although orators did not flourish in the Middle Ages there were better opportunities for a man skillful in the use of the pen, that is, one who could write correctly letters and other important documents. Now throughout the earlier Middle Ages the elements of the Roman law were taught as a part of rhetoric in which a distinction had always been made between the *genus demonstrativum, deliberativum* and *iudiciale*.[12] When law became an independent and important branch of learning at the universities and thus broke loose entirely from rhetoric, it reacted upon and helped to develop the art of writing until that too became a separate branch of education quite distinct from the old formal rhetoric. This new art became known as the *dictamen prosaicum* or *ars dictaminis,* and was recognized at some universities as a distinct branch of instruction. So important did it become that in some places it usurped the whole field of rhetoric and often was simply called by that name.[13]

In its earliest and widest sense *dictamen* signified the art of composition, both in prose and poetry.[14] As a rule, three kinds of composition were distinguished, metric verse, rhythmic verse,

[11]Rashdall, *Universities,* II, 457.

[12]Fitting, *Die Anfänge der Rechtsschule zu Bologna,* 15.

[13]For bibliographies on the subject see Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students," *Amer. Hist. Rev.* III, 204, n. 2; Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts,* 61, n. 1; Molinier, *Sources de l'Histoire de France,* II, 204.

[14]Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 91, and note 3.

and prose.[15] At all times such exercises in composition, especially in verse, had formed a part of grammatical and rhetorical instruction, [16] but in an age when few could write at all the practical value of the *dictamen prosaicum,* which consisted mainly in writing letters and documents, soon asserted itself.

In the early centuries of the Middle Ages numerous collections of model letters and public documents were in common use.[17] It is sufficient to mention the *Variae* of Cassiodorus of which the sixth and seventh books were actually designed to present models, and the famous *Formulae Marculfi* of the seventh century. The art of drawing up documents with the help of such collections had been taught in some monastery and cathedral schools and in the various chanceries. It was not, however, until the latter half of the eleventh century that this art was regarded as a distinct discipline.

The *ars dictaminis* as a separate branch of instruction had its origin in Italy. There, and especially in Lombardy, the study of grammar and rhetoric and the schools in which they were taught had had a continuous existence, with occasional periods of bloom.[18] The growing business in the ecclesiastical and lay chanceries helped to develop and support the new art of *dictamen.* In Italy the notaries had always been largely laymen and their business had been one of profit and honor.[19] Thus a widespread interest was won for the new *ars dictaminis* which more and more adapted itself to the practical needs of the professional notary. The investiture struggle greatly increased the business of the

[15]"Dictaminum autem alia sunt metrica, alia rithmica, alia prosaica," Alberici cassinensis *rationes dictandi.* Rockinger, *Briefsteller,* I, 9.

During the later Middle Ages and until the rise of humanism, rhythmic signified rhymed verse whereas metric was blank verse. Zarncke, "Zwei Mittelalterliche Abhandlungen über den Bau rythmischer Verse," in *Berichte . . . der k. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,* Lpz. (1871), XXIII, 35.

[16]Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens,* 113.

[17]Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre,* I, 608.

[18]Rockinger, "Über die Ars dictandi und die Summae dictaminum in Italien" in *Sitzungsberichte der k. k. Akad. München* (1861), I, 102 and Giesebrecht, *De Litterarum Studiis apud Italos.*

[19]Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre,* I, 624.

papal curia, the imperial chancery and those of the great clerics. The growing autonomy of the Italian city-states also necessitated much correspondence between city and city and between the cities and the Emperor and the Pope. To all this must be added the potent influence of the study of Roman law and the rise of the great law universities. The growing *ars dictaminis* soon became the handmaid of law and the hand-books of *dictamen* gave an increasing amount of space to the rules for drawing up legal papers and even to the elementary principles of law. Irnerius, the first famous professor of Roman law at Bologna, wrote a tract, now lost, for the use of notaries, the *Formularius Tabellionum*.[20] It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the *ars dictaminis* originated in Italy and that it reached its fullest development at Bologna.

Alberich of Monte-Cassino, who lived in that famous monastery in the second half of the eleventh century, may be considered as the founder of the new art. Before his time there had been collections of letters and formularies enough, but they consisted of mere models with scarcely any comments or explanations.[21] The books of Alberich were the first real manuals of instruction in the art of writing letters and official acts.[22] His *Rationes dictandi* taught the famous division of a letter into five parts, *salutatio, benevolentiae captatio, narratio, petitio, conclusio.* This doctrine was accepted and elaborated by all future writers and teachers and did much to give form and substance to the new art. The books of Alberich also included a mass of grammatical and rhetorical instruction, always, however, with due regard to practical needs. Scarcely any complete letters were as yet given as models for illustration; only brief extracts were inserted here and there to illustrate particular points. His books were of value chiefly for private correspondence. The rules and percepts for drawing up privileges of popes and kings

[20]Rockinger, "Über die Ars Dictandi," 120.

[21]Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre*, 624.

[22]Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, I, Einleitung, xxxii and *passim*. Extracts from two of Alberich's works, the *Rationes dictandi* and the *Breviarium de dictamine* are here printed, pp. 9-46.

were somewhat faulty, showing that the author had but a very superficial knowledge about such official acts.

After Alberich there came a regular succession of writers and teachers of the *ars dictaminis* in Italy and elsewhere. The art was modified and adapted to growing needs. In the first place, the form of the manuals was altered. More attention was devoted to the illustrative material; every manual now sought to give a fair number of examples of each form of correspondence and each official act. Such examples were drawn from earlier formularies, from archives and chanceries, or were simply invented. Then it became customary to divide a manual into two parts: first, a discussion of the theory and rules of the art, and second, a collection of models, classified according to their content. There was infinite variety in the form of the various manuals, depending on their particular purpose, and on the caprice of their authors.

Later manuals considered more and more the practical needs of the lay and ecclesiastical chanceries and thus an increased amount of space was given to purely official acts of all kinds. The object was to train men for lucrative positions at the Roman curia, the courts of kings and princes and higher ecclesiastics or in the chanceries of the cities. Such work required considerable special training. It was necessary to learn the charter hand which at all times was different from the ordinary book-hand;[23] also the rules of the *cursus* or the rhythmic cadence of phrases employed in drawing up important acts.[24] The *cursus* was revived at the papal curia in the twelfth century and soon spread from there to the chanceries of cardinals, archbishops, bishops and even to lay courts. All these matters were

[23]"alia enim manus requiritur in quaternis scribendis et alia in epistolis. plures enim scriptores, qui bonam et competentem formant literam in quaternis, nullo modo vel vix sciunt habilitare manum ad epistolas scribendas." Conrad de Mure, *Summa de arte prosandi;* Rockinger, *Briefsteller,* 439. Quoted by Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique,* 513, n. 2.

[24]Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa,* II, 924, gives a good bibliography on the subject; see especially, Valois, "Etude sur le rhythme des bulles pontificales," in *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes,* XLII (1881) 161, 257; Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique,* 455; Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre,* 588; Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 480.

treated in the text-books of the *ars dictaminis* which appeared in the later twelfth and in the thirteenth century. The art was becoming eminently practical. It became even more so when it adapted itself closely to the rising study of Roman law. The manuals devoted an increasing amount of attention to the drawing up of legal papers and some even contained chapters on the theory of law. Thus the *Rhetorica novissima* of Boncompagno begins with a chapter on the origin of law.[25] This process of specialization went on until in the thirteenth century text-books were written which taught only such matters as would be essential to a practising notary. These can no longer be classed under *ars dictaminis* for they are strictly manuals of the *ars notaria* of which more will be said later.

In Italy, its native soil, the *ars dictaminis* reached its fullest development at the University of Bologna. Although its study had been widespread in Italy since the end of the eleventh century, its recorded history as a branch of study at Bologna does not begin until about 1200.[26] At that time the Englishman Geoffrey of Vinsauf taught the liberal arts there.[27] He is the author of the famous *Ars Poetria* which ranks him among the best poets of the time.[28] While at Bologna he also wrote an *Ars dictaminis* in prose for the use of his students.[29]

The most famous of the masters of the *ars dictaminis* at Bologna, and indeed, of all *dictatores* anywhere, was Boncompagno

[25]Rockinger, Über die Ars dictandi," 138.

[26]In the *Rationes dictandi prosaice* of Hugo of Bologna there are indications that the *ars dictaminis* was already taught as a separate branch at Bologna at about this date. Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften des Magister Boncompagno*, 36: Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, I, 70.

[27]Sarti, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus*, I, 599.

[28]Saintsbury, *History of Criticism*, I, 412.

[29]Sarti, *De Claris....Professoribus*, I, 601, believes this work was written between 1191-1198. The question is still undecided whether or not there were two men named Geoffrey, both from England, both professors of the ars dictaminis, and who both spent part of their life in Italy. Langlois, *Notices et Extraits*, XXXV, pt. 2, 409.

(c. 1165—c. 1240.).[30] He was born near Florence where he received his early training but he came to Bologna to complete his education in grammar, rhetoric and perhaps in the first principles of law. Early in the thirteenth century he was active as a master at the University of Bologna. His position was unique. He aspired to be something more than a mere master of grammar and therefore concentrated all his attention on the *ars dictaminis* or rhetoric as he called it out and out. No man was ever more self-reliant or more ready to sound his own praises than Boncompagno. In his chosen field he acknowledged no predecessor claiming that he was the first professor of the art of arts, the foster-daughter of law,[31] namely the *ars dictaminis*[32] No doubt he exaggerated somewhat for we know that at least Geoffrey of Vinsauf had taught the art before Boncompagno wrote the words quoted; nevertheless to Boncompagno belongs the credit for having raised the new art to such importance that he and others after him found it worth while to devote their whole time to it.

He was a prolific writer and almost all he ever wrote pertained to the theory and practice of the *ars dictaminis*. Modern scholars came to know him first through his historcal poem on the siege of Ancona.[33] His numerous works on rhetoric did not attract attention until recently when it was recognized that Boncompagno's real claim to distinction lies in the fact that he was the most famous among the *dictatores*. His longest and most important work is the *Rhetorica antiqua* which he also called *Boncompagnus* after his own name.[34] How completely this "rhet-

[30]The most recent important accounts of his life and writings are: Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften des Magister Boncompagno,* see bibliography, p. 14; Gaudenzi, "Sulla Cronologia delle Opere dei Dettatori Bolognesi da Buoncompagno a Bene di Lucca," in *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano,* No. 14 (1895), 85-174.

[31]"artium liberalium imperatrix et utriusque iuris alumpna." Boncompagni *boncompagnus.* Rockinger, *Briefsteller,* I, 129.

[32]Speaking of himself he says: "Cui Florentia dedit initium, et Bononia, *nullo praeeunte doctore,* celebre incrementum." *De obsid. Ancon.,* in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.,* VI, 946.

[33]*Liber de obsidione Ancona,* in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.,* VI, 919-946.

[34]Extracts of it in Rockinger, *Briefsteller,* I, 128-174.

oric" is devoted to the *ars dictaminis* may be seen from the contents of its six books: (1) on student letters, (2) the various forms issued by the Roman church, (3) letters sent to the Pope, (4) letters to and from emperors, kings and queens, (5) letters to the clergy, (6) letters of noblemen, cities and peoples.[35] This work, the author tells us, was read and crowned with laurel at Bologna in 1215 before the professors of canon and civil law and a multitude of other doctors and students. In 1226 it was published at Padua before a similar august assembly.[36] That was high distinction for a mere treatise on the art of letter writing. The fact that it was read and crowned before the faculty of law shows how truly the new art was a foster-daughter of law.

The writings of Boncompagno show very clearly how the *ars dictaminis* became more and more specialized due to the influence of law. Although he himself never studied law seriously he gave much attention to legal forms and processes in law.[37] One chapter of his *Novissima rhetorica* contains a history of the origin of law.[38] The *Mirrha*, which is entirely devoted to the drawing up of testaments, can scarcely be classed with treatises on the *ars dictaminis* for it was written more particularly for the use of only those notaries whose business it was to draw up such legal documents.[39] The same is true of two other works, the *Oliva* and the *Cedrus*. The first is a compendium on the drawing up of *privilegia* and *confirmationes*, the second, of statutes in general (*statuta generalia*).[40]

Boncompagno never underestimated the importance of his art or of himself as the exponent of it. He firmly believed that he was laying new foundations and that he followed the pre-

[35]Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, I, 133. See a list of his works in Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften*, 24, and especially chs. IV and V. Sutter should be supplemented, especially in regard to chronology, by Gaudenzi, in *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano*. See criticism of Sutter's book by Gaudenzi, p. 87, note 3.

[36]Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, I, 174.

[37]The extracts from the *Boncompagnus* in Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, I, 128-174, are mainly such as pertain to law.

[38]Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, I, 119.

[39]Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften*, 66-71.

[40]Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften*, 66-71.

cepts of no master. He took delight in the accusation of his adversaries who said that he considered himself greater than Cicero. He claimed that in his rhetoric he had not followed Cicero or any other author and jokingly added that he could not recall ever having read Cicero. Then in a patronizing tone he said that he had never depreciated the *Rhetoric* of Tullius or ever dissuaded those who wished to imitate it.[41] The self-assertiveness of Boncompagno no doubt often degenerated into arrogance; at all events he had many enemies who bitterly attacked him. "Numberless scorpions," he says, "were trying to sting him with their venomous tails and many dogs were barking at his back, but when face to face with him the lips of the envious trembled."[42] At the beginning of his large work, the *Boncompagnus,* he holds an imaginary conversation with his new book, telling it to go out and fight for him against the envy of his adversaries which he describes as a terrible beast with nine horned heads and three tails.[43]

Such petty squabbles of the schools, although unimportant in themselves, must have had a marked effect upon the development of ths *ars dictaminis.* The very fact that they were so sharp and bitter shows what popularity the new art was enjoying at Bologna. Doubtless many students were attracted to it by these word battles between the masters. Brisk competition disclosed the real essentials of the art and rendered it more practical. In this atmosphere, charged with spite and envy, incrimination and recrimination, the *ars dictaminis* reached its full growth.

Boncompagno was ever ready to reform. Just as he refused to follow Cicero as a master, so he also broke with the teachings

[41]"Est preterea liber iste [Palma] mee rethorice prologus, licet in rethorica Tullium non fuerim imitatus. Nunquam enim memini me Tullium legisse nec secundum alicuius doctrinam me aliquid in rethoricis traditionibus vel dictamine fecisse profiteor, nisi quod quandoque causa deridendi emulos me Buchimenonem appellavi. Verumtamen nunquam Tullii depravavi rethoricam nec eam imitari volentibus dissuasi." *Palma,* in Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften,* 105. See also p. 42.

[42]"quem infiniti scorpiones venenosis caudis pungere nitebantur, post cuius dorsum canes plurimi latraverunt. set ante ipsius faciem contremuerunt omnium labia invidorum." Boncompagni *boncompagnus,* Rockinger, *Briefsteller,* I, 174.

[43]Rockinger, *Briefsteller,* I, 129

of the older *dictatores.* Alberich of Monte-Cassino had taught that there were five essential parts to a letter, which doctrine was generally accepted throughout the Middle Ages. Boncompagno, however, claimed that only three of these, *salutatio, narratio* and *petitio,* were actually essential, and that the rest were but secondary just as were numerous other parts of letters. If any one should argue that this was contrary to the doctrines of the ancients he answered that the ancients had taught superfluous and harmful things.[44] He looked with derision upon the methods of letter writing before his day. The masters, he said, had produced labored epistles at a great expense of time and had tried to adorn them with picturesque phrases and citations from learned books.[45] In contrast with this Boncompagno emphasized the practical side of the art, the ability to write a correct letter extemporaneously and to the point. For this, he complained, his opponents accused him of lacking literary taste.[46] The school of Orleans he singled out for special censure. We shall see that at this seat of classical culture the *ars dictaminis* also flourished.[47] Boncompagno believed that the masters of Orleans unduly imitated classic models. He held that for proper models and good style they should turn to the papal curia, the imperial

[44]"Si dixerit: ita ab antiquis fuit institutum, dico, quod illa institutio inutilis fuit et damnosa propter multiplicatatem. Ego autem concedo exordium, benevolentie sive malivolentie captationem et conclusionem, generalem sententiam, exortationem, remissionem, blanditionem et alias innumerabiles esse partes epistole non principales, set secundarias." *Palma,* in Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften,* III. See also pp. 52, 109.

[45]"Ante adventum meum pullalarat in prosatoribus heresis cancerosa, quia omnis, qui pollicebatur in prosa exhibere doctrinam, litteras destinabat, quas ipse in magno spatio temporis vel alius picturato verborum fastu et auctoritatibus philosophicis exornarat, cuius testimonio probatus habebatur orator." *Rhetorica antiqua.* Quoted by Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften,* 41. He may have had Geoffrey of Vinsauf in mind when he wrote these words.

[46]Magistri vero et eorum fautores ex eo quod depreciabar proverbia et obscura dictamina contempnebam, dicebant me litteratura carere. Nec ascribebant virtuti set vitio et levitati, quod semper in presentia dictare volebam." *Rhetorica antiqua,* in Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften,* 42, n. 1.

[47]See below, p. 87.

chancery or even to the writings of the church fathers.[48] The school of Orleans seems to have had many adherents in Bologna. Boncompagno tells how one day he put them all to scorn. He said he wrote a fictitious letter to the masters and scholars of Bologna, purporting to have been sent by a certain Frenchman named Robert who challenged him to a public debate on the value of their respective methods in the *ars dictaminis*. This announcement created much interest and excitement. On the day appointed the whole university assembled in the cathedral and the enemies of Boncompagno were especially numerous and confident. He calmly took his seat and waited for his opponent; but Robert did not appear. When all had lost patience waiting, he at last got up and proclaimed that he himself was the Robert who had written the letter and that they had all fallen nicely into his trap. Thereupon his opponents fled amid the laughter and jeers of his followers who carried him home on their shoulders in triumph.[49] However much this account may have been colored for the sake of self-glorification, it remains an interesting picture of the times when the *ars dictaminis* was an important branch of study at the University of Bologna.[50]

Boncompagno did not name any of the rivals whom he attacked so bitterly, but we have reasons for believing that two of them were Bene of Lucca and Guido Faba. Very little is known about Bene. He wrote (1220-23) a *Summa dictandi* called the *Candelabrum* which was well received. When Boncompagno temporarily left Bologna shortly after 1215 it is very probable that Bene came there in 1218 to take his place and that this occasioned bitter rivalry between the two teachers.[51]

Guido Faba was a much more important *dictator* than Bene

[48]"Divisi autem librum istum per tabulas, ut omnes quibus placebit, et principue viri scolastici, qui per falsam et supersticiosam Aurelianensium doctrinam hactenus hac arte abutebantur tamquam naufragantes ad [eas] recurrant, et forman sanctorum patrum, curie Romane et imperialis aule stilum in prosaico dictamine studeant imitari." *Liber X tabularum.* Delisle, "Les Ecoles d'Orléans," Appendix.

[49]Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften,* 42-45.

[50]Boncompagno tells us that he had more than five hundred students. Gaudenzi, in *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano,* No. 14, 86.

[51]Gaudenzi, in *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano,* No. 14, 110, 150.

but of his life we know almost as little.[52] Even from a mere examination of his works however it is plain that he was a much more sensible man than Boncompagno, and if not as original as that erratic master, he understood much better the essentials of his art. Although somewhat younger than Boncompagno, Guido taught and wrote at Bologna at the time when the *ars dictaminis* flourished most, that is, about 1225. His chief books are the *Summa dictaminis* and the *Dictamen* which are always found together in the numerous extant manuscripts. In the works of Boncompagno there are too many irrelevant digressions and no logical arrangement. To Guido Faba belongs the credit of having given definite form and limits to the *ars dictaminis,* drawing the lines clearly whereby the art became distinct at once from grammar and rhetoric on the one hand, and from the notaries' art and law on the other. One new feature made his books especially popular; he inserted a considerable number of forms in the vernacular and he had enough foresight to employ the more perfect dialect of Tuscany in preference to the idiom of Bologna. For all these reasons it is not surprising that his works, and not those of Boncompagno, became the standard text-books of the *ars dictaminis.*

Nothing is more striking about the *ars dictaminis* at the University of Bologna than its transient character. Scarcely well established at the beginning of the thirteenth century, it had practically run its course before 1250. A few decades after the brilliant career of Boncompagno, the art which once had attracted the attention of the whole university had not a single illustrious master and was scarcely ever mentioned. So quickly did it come and go that its status probably never became fixed. There is no evidence that it ever attained the position of a separate faculty as did grammar at Toulouse. For a time it entirely overshadowed the two subjects of the trivium from which it had

[52]For the few details we have about his life and writings see Rockinger, Über die Ars dictandi in Italien," 136; Rockinger, *Briefsteller,* I, 175; and Gaudenzi, in *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano,* No. 14, 86-88; 118-150.

developed, namely, grammar and rhetoric, but the records do not reveal a definite and organized body of masters and students who devoted their whole time to the *ars dictaminis* thus constituting a distinct faculty of the art in the medieval sense of the word. Roland of Padua, a student and imitator of Boncompagno, in 1221 was made a doctor of *grammar*, and not of *ars dictaminis*, even under the auspices of the great master himself.[53] Thus during its short career the *ars dictaminis* outwardly seems never to have become wholly differentiated from the work in grammar and rhetoric.

Although stress must be laid on the transient nature of the *ars dictaminis* at Bolgna, it is still more important to emphasize that its disappearance was apparent, not real. Even as outlined by Boncompagno, who paid so much attention to practical needs and who brought it in such close contact with law, the art was too general. From theoretical discussions of prose style and precepts for writing student letters to the drawing up of wills and statutes was a long call. As the study of law became broader and more systematic, as the city life of Italy became more complicated and the business of the courts and chanceries increased, a greater demand arose for professional notaries who could draw up public and legal documents. Such portions of the manuals of the *ars dictaminis* as pertained to the technical requirements of the notary were especially developed and ultilized while the theoretical discussions and general rules became relatively unimportant. They were not set aside altogether but the old *ars dictaminis* ceased to constitute a separate branch of learning. The art of letter-writing, now widely diffused and well-known everywhere, once more was considered as but one element of prose composition and was again taught as a part of grammar and rhetoric. This is well illustrated by the grammar written by Cæsar of Italy during the second half of the thirteenth century.[54] Divided into nineteen chapters, the tenth is devoted to *dictamen* in prose with special reference to letter writing (De dictamine in

[53]Sarti-Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus*, I, 604.

[54]See above, p. 48.

soluta oratione) and is clearly based on the *Ars dictaminis* of Ponce of Provence.[55]

As the *ars dictaminis* gradually disintegrated, the *ars notaria* developed and became a separate faculty at Bologna. Of course, throughout the Middle Ages, notaries had been in demand and had been trained in some way or another. Now, however, this art became systematized as an important branch of regular instruction at the University of Bologna.

The first known master of the *ars notaria* was Raynerius.[56] He is mentioned as such in the books of the notaries of Bologna as early as 1219. He wrote a text-book on the art which is extant today.[57] The intimate relation of the new branch of study to law can be seen from the fact that Raynerius was versed in that subject as well as in *notaria*. The statutes describe him as a "judex et notarius."[58] It became customary for the professors of *notaria* to teach the elements of law in addition to their regular work. The first four books of the *Institutes* were regularly interpreted by them.

In 1249 the first mention occurs of a *doctor notariae*.[59] This was Salathiel who also wrote an *Ars notariae* based largely on that of Raynerius. His title of doctor seems to indicate that by this time the notarial art was organized as a faculty and that its professors were recognized as were the doctors of law. The notaries already were an important body in Bologna and had organized as a guild.[60] The statutes of the city in 1246 prescribed that newly employed notaries should be thoroughly examined to prove their ability to read, translate and write documents.[61]

[55]Fierville, *Une Grammaire Latine Inédite*, Avant-propos, xv, xxii, and p. 116. For Ponce of Provence see below, p. 89.

[56]It should be remembered that Irnerius himself wrote a notarial form-book, the *Formularius tabellionum*, but that is now lost and we do not know whether he actually taught the art. See above, p. 72.

[57]Ranieri da Perugia, *Ars Notaria*, ed. by Gaudenzi, Bologna, 1890.

[58]Sarti-Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus*, I, 506.

[59]Sarti Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus*, I, 507.

[60]Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 112, note.

[61]The statutes direct that four "notarios electos a Consulibus artis tabellionatus coram Potestate et ejus judicibus, qui inquirant qualiter sciant scribere et qualiter legere scripturus, quas fecerint, vulgariter et literaliter et qualiter

Long before this Boncompagno, clearly seeing the drift of the times, had written his *Oliva, Cedrus* and *Mirrha* dealing with privileges, statutes and wills and thus specially designed for the use of notaries.

The new art did not reach its full stature at Bologna until the time of Rolandinus Passagerius. In 1234 he was elected one of the public notaries of the city. Although learned in civil law, he was not a doctor of laws. His ambition was to be foremost among the doctors of the *ars notaria*. In this he succeeded so well that he was sometimes called *rector et dominus* of that art.[62] From the middle of the thirteenth century he became an actual dictator in his chosen field. When the Emperor Frederick II sent a threatening letter to the Bolognese demanding the delivery of his son Enzio whom they had captured in 1249, Rolandinus was intrusted with the delicate task of writing a reply. His *Summa artis notariae* which appeared in 1256 was a masterpiece and immediately superseded all the earlier manuals. Under his leadership the notaries of Bologna practically secured a monopoly in teaching the art. No one was allowed to teach it who was not a citizen of Bologna or had not resided there twenty years. This shows at once the high standing of the *ars notaria* and also the prestige of Rolandinus. He retained his exalted dignity to the last day of a long life and when he died in 1300 a splendid tomb was raised to mark his remains.[63]

The *ars notaria* had now gained a permanent foothold at the university. Statutes of the city after 1250 mention a faculty of *notaria*.[64] The new art is spoken of as a separate science in a

latinare et dictare." Sarti-Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus,* I, 509, n. 2.

[62]Sarti-Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus,* I, 508-514.

[63]Sarti-Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus,* I, 511.

[64]"notarie et dictatorie (dictaminis) facultatis." Denifle, *Die Universitäten,* I, 205, n. 553, says that this probably does not signify two faculties, one of *notaria* and another of the *ars dictaminis,* but simply a faculty of *notaria.* Since a notary was obliged to know *dictamen,* "dictatorie" seems to be but an additional qualifying word. Nowhere else can an indication be found that the *ars dictaminis* was ever a separate faculty.

document of the year 1284.[65] Notaries were in high standing everywhere. Even the faculties of the university each employed a notary who was a person of much importance and was well paid.[66] In 1305 salaries were bestowed upon doctors of *notaria*.[67] The statutes of 1405 still mention students and doctors in this field.[68]

Meanwhile the notarial art was being taught at other universities in Italy.[69] Manuals were also written and studied throughout Europe in places where no university instruction was given in the *ars notaria*.[70] However, the history of the art has been traced far enough to show its relation to the medieval arts course. The *ars notaria* was a strange child of the seven liberal arts. When fully developed it pertained much more to law than to grammar and rhetoric from which it sprang. Like law itself, which once was taught but as a part of rhetoric, the *ars notaria* too became a specialized science and scarcely could be classed any longer among the subjects of the arts course.

[65]Sarti-Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus*, I, 506

[66]The following were the duties of the notary of the faculty of law (1317-1347): "Ad officium notarii spectat puncta per universitatem tassata legere et publicare per scolas omnium ad puncta legencium, ea die, qua punctus completur, sequentem more solito publicando. Item legat statuta, quorum legendorum tempora sunt statutis ipsis expressa, in temporibus ordinatis. Item et alia que rectores vel alter ipsorum legi preciperent. Item in stacione, loco in quo rectores solent pro tribunali sedere, copiam sui faciat. Item, quando consciliarii conveniunt, et universitas sit in loco presens, ita quod ipsius copia, si expedierit, possit haberi. Item festivitatibus, obsequiis, processionibus quas rectores cum universitate vel certis scolaribus ad pallacium faciunt, intersit ipsosque precedat. Item licteras omnes quas quacunque de causa universitas ad alios dirigit, in uno libro ad hoc specialiter deputato registret, ac procuretur si haberi potest ipsarum copia antequam sigillentur. Item scribat tenorem omnium privilegiorum nostrorum presentium et futurorum in duobus libris; et quociens alicui scolari expediret respicere ea privilegia seu tenorem privilegiorum, inspicere valeat, ut contingerit expedire; qui libri penes rectores debeant semper esse." Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese*, 25. See also 297 and 396.

[67]Ghirardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna*, I, 504. Doctors in *notaria* are also mentioned in 1321 and 1383; pp. 18 and 398. See Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 240.

[68]Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese*, 287-288.

[69]Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 37.

[70]See especially Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, II.

Coming back now to the *ars dictaminis*, we find that it was by no means confined to Italy. Having received its first impulse there, it spread rapidly over all the countries of western Europe, where manuals of every description were written just as in Italy.[71] Our purpose however is not to follow the complicated history of the *ars dictaminis* into all its ramifications, but simply to inquire to what extent its was taught at universities.

The statutes of the University of Paris give absolutely no indication that the new art was ever taught there. Nevertheless, it has something of a history even at Paris. Here, as elsewhere, there was a demand for men who could write letters and official papers in a business-like way. Thus in 1215 the chapter of Notre Dame required that the teacher of the cathedral school must be fitted to write the letters issued by the chapter.[72]

There is evidence, too, that *dictamen* was taught at the University of Paris. Gerald de Barri says he there learned the metric art and *dictamen*.[73] John Garland wrote a text-book on the subject which he called *Parisiana poetria*.[76] Its form and contents are very significant. Unlike most manuals of the art written in John's time, his book still treats *dictamen* in its old threefold form, prose, metric and rhythmic. Whole poems are given as illustrations in the part which treats the metric art, just

[71]Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre*, I, 631.

[72]"Libros quidem Parisiensis ecclesie sine cantu corrigere, ligare et in bono statu tenebitur conservare, et talem instituere magistrum in claustro qui sufficiens sit ad scolarum regimen, et ad officium quod debet facere in ecclesia, et ad litteras capituli, si opus fuerit, faciendas." Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'Eglise Notre-Dame*, I, 356.

[73]Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. Brewer, IV, 3.

[76]Bruges MS. 546, fols. 149-174 v°. Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, I, 485 ff., prints extracts from a MS. at Munich which he considered a mere commentary on the larger work of John, called *Parisiana*. The MS. of Bruges seems to contain the original. See also Scheler, *Lexicographie Latine*, and Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits*, XXVII, pt. 2, 81. Recently G. Mari has edited the whole of this work of John Garland as Rockinger knew it under the title "Poetria Magistri Johannis Anglici de Arte Prosayca, Metrica et Rithmica" in *Romanische Forschungen* (1902) XIII, 883-965, except that portion on "Rithmica" which he had previously published in his *I Trattati Medievali di Ritmica Latina*, 35-80 He does not mention this Bruges manuscript.

as models of letters, private and official, are found in that portion which treats the *ars dictaminis* proper.

The *Parisiana poetria* of John Garland indicates how *dictamen* was generally taught at Paris. It never acquired such recognition and individuality as it did at Bologna, but was still taught incidentally as a part of grammar and rhetoric. Hence John laid about as much stress on the teaching of verse as on the writing of letters; for as a branch of school composition the metric art was important enough in that age which had such a predilection for verse.[77] But in places where the *ars dictaminis* flourished it was not considered in the light of its value as a mere school exercise but rather as a practical study which would fit students for lucrative positions.

Some few indications there are that the *ars dictaminis* as a professional branch was taught even at Paris. In the *Battle of the Seven Arts* rhetoric is called "the Lombard dame, rhetoric."[78] In another interesting passage rhetoric is pictured as leading out from Paris a troop of Lombard knights, whose darts are plumed with tongues and who carry off many a heritage from people who come to them for advice.[79] In all probability these "Lombard knights" were men who had been trained in Italy in rhetoric or *ars dictaminis* which might embrace the first principles of law and the drawing up of wills and other legal papers. Whether they actually taught their art at Paris is not certain, but probably they did for the poem pictures in allegory all the books and subjects which were taught at Paris and Orleans. Some travelling *dictatores* surely did come to Paris to teach. In a formulary

[77] See above, p. 34.

[78] "Li Lombart dame Rectorique." Henri d'Andeli, *La Bataille des VII Ars*, v. 224; ed. Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli*, 51.

[79] "Moult i ot chevaliers lombars
Que Rectorique ot amenez.
Dars ont de langues empanez
Por percier les cuers des gens nices
Qui vienent jouster a lor lices,
Quar il tolent mains heritages
Par les lances de lor langages."
vv. 68-74; Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli*, 45.

of student letters there is one in which a student writes to a friend in Toulouse to come quickly to Paris because a famous *dictator* would soon be there.[80] Laurentius of Aquileia, a well-known itinerant *dictator*, tells us that he taught at Paris and that he finished his *Ars sive Rethorica Dictaminis* there when Boniface VIII was Pope (1294-1303).[81]

These few and scattered notices scarcely permit any generalization as to the *ars dictaminis* at Paris. However it seems safe to say that the art never got a firm foothold there, that it was taught intermittently by wandering teachers and that, like grammar and formal rhetoric, it could not prosper beside Aristotelian logic and philosophy. In France, Orleans, not Paris, was the chief center of the art.

A previous chapter has shown how Orleans was famous for its schools where the ancient classics were still much in favor in the thirteenth century.[82] There are good reasons for believing also that law was taught there as far back as the ninth century.[83] A place where the arts and the practical study of law flourished was favorable to the development of the *ars dictaminis*, and hence, as early as the twelfth century, Orleans was noted for its instruction in the new art.

It is generally admitted that the *ars dictaminis* as a separate branch of study was introduced into France directly from Italy.[84] In the second half of the twelfth century however, Orleans was already an independent center of influence. Three men from that city became secretaries of the Popes Alexander III (1159-1181) and Lucius III (1181-1185).[85] Towards the beginning of the thirteenth century many manuals of the epistolary art were written at Orleans and at the neighboring monastery of St. Lizard or

[80]Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students," in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, III, 221, n. 6. The collection dates from the early fourteenth century.

[81]Novati, *L'Influsso del Pensiero Latino sopra la Civiltà Italiana*, 251-54. Also Haskins, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, III, 208, note.

[82]See above, p. 13.

[83]Fitting, *Die Anfänge der Rechtsschule zu Bologna*, 45.

[84]Valois, *De Arte Scribendi Epistolas*, 25.

[85]Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, II, 725.

Magdunum.[86] They were very much like those which appeared in Italy at about the same time. None of them treat the art of *dictamen* in its threefold division as did the *Parisiana poetria* of John Garland of Paris. "There are different kinds of *dictamen*," says the introduction to one of them, "metric and prose. The metric art however will not be treated. Likewise there are various kinds of prose *dictamen*, oratorical, rhetorical and epistolary, but this treatise will confine itself solely to the art of letter writing."[87] This purely practical purpose, that of training students directly for positions in chanceries, was always uppermost in the minds of the *dictatores* of Orleans. Hence the art became a very important branch there at a time when at Paris John Garland was teaching *dictamen* in prose and verse as a mere adjunct to grammar and rhetoric.

As early as 1235 there was a University of Orleans famous for law.[88] Thereafter, as law grew in importance, the arts declined at Orleans and scarcely any details can be given about the arts course at the university;[89] nor can it be determined what was the exact status of the *ars dictaminis*, whether it was a distinct faculty or not. It is certain however that early in the thirteenth century it was extremely popular for the Italian *dictatores* considered Orleans the very center of the art in France.[90] A certain Florentine attributed to the masters of Orleans the invention of a particular style of *cursus* which he then goes on to name *stilum gallicum* thus making "style of Orleans" synonymous

[86]Delisle, "Les Ecoles d'Orléans," 140; Auvray, "Documents Orléanais du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle," in *Mémoires de la Soc. de l'Orléanais*, XXIII; Langlois, Formulaires de Lettres du XIIe, du XIIIe et du XIVe Siècle," 3e Article, in *Notices et Extraits*, XXXIV, pt. 2, 1-19; Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, I, 94-114.

[87]"Dictaminis autem plures sunt species. dictamen aliud est metricum, aliud prosaicum. de metrico nihil ad presens.

Prosaici vero plures sunt species: oracio, rethorica, epistola. et etiam prermissis aliis de epistola agamus." *Ars dictandi aurelianensis* (c. 1180); in Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, I, 103.

[88]Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I, 252; Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 139.

[89]See above, p. 19, n. 30.

[90]Valois, *De Arte Scribendi Epistolas*, 39.

with "style of France."[91] An illustration has already been given of the jealous antagonism which Boncompagno displayed against the school of Orleans.[92] That the *ars dictaminis* was still popular at Orleans about the middle of the thirteenth century can be seen from a letter of the itinerant *dictator,* Ponce of Provence, to the masters and students of that university.[93] This letter accompanied the *Summa de Dictamine* of Ponce which appeared in 1249 and 1252 and become very well known.[94] Ponce describes the value of his art in the most glowing colors of allegory. He tells how when wandering over hills and valleys he met an exceedingly beautiful maiden. Unable to resist her charms, he prostrated himself at her feet and begged to be allowed to serve her. She graciously took his right hand, raised him from the ground and showed him a large and beautiful city. No one might enter it except by seven portals typifying the manifold relations which existed between men and women of every station in life. Through these portals she led him into the city where he saw eighteen palaces built of precious stones. An inscription told who might enter the palaces and at what times and for what business. Seeing all these wonders, he cried out, " 'O beautiful maiden, tell me your name and to whom this city belongs and after whom it is named.' And she answered, 'I am called *Rhetoric.* This city is named *Practica dictatoria.* Although my sister Grammar says that she is my equal in this city, nevertheless I have supreme authority, and since I have but few good citizens, I give you the keys to the seven portals, representing all the doctrines of the *ars dictaminis,* on condition that you open them faithfully to all who wish to enter.' "[95] Ponce concludes

[91]Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 483; Delisle, "Les Ecoles d'Orléans," 143.

[92]See above, p. 78.

[93]Delisle, "Les Ecoles d'Orléans," 150. The manuscript from which Delisle cites is dated 1259.

[94]Haskins, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.,* III, 208, note.

[95]" 'O virgo speciosissima, dic michi nomen tuum, et cujus est ista civitas, et quo nomine nuncupatur.' Et ispa respondit breviter, 'Ego vocor Rethorica. Ista civitas appellatur Practica dictatoria. Et quamvis soror mea Grammatica se dicat fore in hac civitate meam proporcionarium (porcionariam?), ego tamen optineo

by inviting all who in a short time wish to become the best *dictatores* to hasten to him who holds the keys to the science.

No doubt he won over many students by this flowery appeal in which he exalts rhetoric or the *ars dictaminis* high above grammar. We have seen that in his *Summa* he told his students that he would neglect the fables of the classical authors and lead them directly to the art of letter writing, that pearl among sciences.[96] Unfortunately no records have as yet been found which reveal how extensively the *ars dictaminis* was studied at Orleans after 1250, how much it contributed towards the rapid decline of the ancient authors, or in what relation it stood to law. It is probable that Laurentius of Aquileia also taught at Orleans towards the close of the thirteenth century,[97] but apparently in the reign of Philip the Fair the *ars dictaminis* was less important at Orleans than in the reign of Philip Augustus.[98]

The art was taught elsewhere in France beside Paris and Orleans.[99] It flourished throughout the valley of the Loire which was its home in France.[1] Thus Tours was in early times a rival of Orleans.[2] In the famous schools of Chartres, not far from Orleans, the art flourished in the twelfth century.[3] Since these towns did not become the seats of universities, they do not come within our scope.

The only other French universities at which the *ars dictaminis* is known to have been taught were Toulouse and Montpellier.

principatum. Et quoniam paucos bonos habitatores habeo, tibi claves accommodo, tali federe quod predictas VII portas, per quas tota doctrina epistolaris dictaminis figuratur, aperias fideliter et benigne volentibus.' " Delisle, "Les Ecoles d'Orléans," appendix, 150. Also quoted from Delisle by Valois, *De Arte Scribendi Epistolas*, 48-49.

[96]See above, p. 29.

[97]Haskins, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, III, 208, note.

[98]The formulary of Tréguier (c. 1315) has references to grammar and logic at the University of Orleans (see above, p. 19), but none to the *ars dictaminis*. Delisle, "Le Formulaire de Tréguier," and Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, Einleitung, xxvii.

[99]Valois, *De Arte Scribendi Epistolas*, 49.

[1]Langlois, in *Notices et Extraits*, XXXIV, pt. 2, 1.

[2]See Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 514, and notes 2 and 3.

[3]Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres*, 234, 311.

Ponce of Provence taught at both before he came to Orleans.[4] His flowery address of which an abstract has just been given, he also sent to Toulouse.[5] Laurentius of Aquileia mentions Toulouse in some of the letters of his formulary and therefore probably had taught there at some time.[6] In an inventory of the books of a college of Toulouse, dated 1337, two *Summae dictaminis* are mentioned.[7] Elsewhere in the statutes there is no reference to the art. The grammar course for 1328 prescribed *metrificatura*[8] which doubtlessly was such metrical *dictamen* as John Garland had taught at Paris about a century before. The real practical *ars dictaminis* probably appeared and disappeared at Toulouse and Perpignan with such itinerant *dictatores* as Ponce of Provence and Laurentius of Aquileia.

Of the *ars notaria* there are no traces at the medieval universities of France and England.

[4]Valois, *De Arte Scribendi Epistolas,* 45.

[5]Delisle, "Note sur le Dictamen de Poncius Provincialis," in *Bulletin de la Soc. archéol. de l'Orléanais,* IV (1862-67), 42-44. See also XIV, 410, n. 1.

[6]Haskins, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.,* III, 208, note.

[7]"Summam dictaminis Thome de Capua" and "Summam dictaminis Ricardi de Pophis." Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 551.

[8]See above, p. 51.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

In the general intellectual awakening of the twelfth century it seemed as if the study of language and literature would have its full share. A revival of Latin classical learning was going on in northern France, particularly at Chartres and Orleans, and was already attracting scholars even from England. If this movement had not been checked there probably would have been a steady increase of interest in the Latin and later also in the Greek classics, without any of the brilliance and eclat of the later Italian revival but also without many of its excesses.

During the twelfth century, however, western Europe was stirred by many other new interests, the most important of which were Aristotelian logic and philosophy, systematized theology, civil and canon law and medicine, the chief manifestation of a new interest in science. These and other things all militated against the classics so that by the middle of the thirteenth century the humanistic movement died a death from sheer starvation. The universities had grown up as exponents of all these triumphant intellectual pursuits and hence they may in this sense be said to have retarded the revival of learning.

Since grammar was thus deprived of one of its chief missions, the teaching of the "ancient poets and historians," the classics were entirely neglected at medieval universities. At the beginning of the twelfth century, however, there was still a good deal of interest in grammar, shorn as it was. So many changes were made that we may distinguish between the "old grammar" taught on the basis of Donatus and Priscian and the "new grammar" of which the accepted texts were the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu and the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune. There were some improvements in these new text-books but in many ways they were puerile and insufficient. Some men, especially John Garland of Paris and Roger Bacon, were anxious to improve upon these books and in general to infuse a healthier

spirit into the instruction of grammar by going back to the study of ancient literature; but they could not arouse their contemporaries who were so much more interested in other studies that they were satisfied to leave grammar in whatever condition it happened to be.

The study of language consequently entered upon a woeful decline at the University of Paris which can be seen in the bad style of the writings which emanated from it in the later thirteenth and most of the fourteenth century. At Italian universities the situation was not much better.

Exceptional conditions prevailed at the universities of southern France, especially at Toulouse and Perpignan. Here the study of grammar was fostered better than anywhere else in Europe, although unfortunately nothing was done to improve the substance and method of instruction. At these universities there was a separate faculty in grammar and regular degrees were given in that subject, important facts which have not been duly realized and emphasized by any historian of universities. The course in grammar was comparatively broad and included many books and subjects which were not touched upon at other universities. One of these grammatical books was the enigmatical *Alexander* which I have endeavored to identify with the *"Glossary"* of Alexander of Villedieu. The records show that towards the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century interest in Aristotelian logic and philosophy fell off at Toulouse whereas grammar became much more popular. However, it was still the old traditional grammar of the thirteenth century and no effort was made to improve it by incorporating humanism which was now spreading over all western Europe. A study of humanism at other universities showed that these great medieval institutions had very little share in the revival of classical learning.

The study of rhetoric as outlined by Cicero and Quintilian never flourished during the Middle Ages. Hence the old-fashioned rhetoric was almost wholly neglected in the arts course of all medieval universities. The increasing business relations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries especially in Italy, led to a

remarkable development of one phase of rhetoric, the art of writing letters and public documents. The influence of the study of law hastened specialization along this line until at Bologna there were separate courses in the *ars dictaminis* and *ars notaria* which directly prepared students for a large variety of positions which in our day would range from that of a stenographer to a secretary of state. Owing largely to the interest in this practical work, grammar and formal rhetoric were for a time almost crowded out at Bologna. From Italy, the *ars dictaminis* spread to most of the universities of France, although here the art never gained a firm foothold. The history of the transformation of rhetoric illustrates the practical or professional nature of most of the instruction at medieval universities. The ideal of culture for its own sake, as exemplified by Petrarch, as well as the ideal of advancing knowledge by investigation, as advocated by Abelard and Roger Bacon, never found favor at medieval universities. They existed largely for the interpretation and transmission of existing knowledge and principally such knowledge as had practical value in fitting for the professions and for positions in the business world.

The main theme of this treatise has been to show just how and why the study of language and literature was neglected especially during the century before Petrarch. To comprehend the revival of learning it is essential to understand that exactly during this century, when the medieval universities were at the height of their glory, the study of the classics lanquished infinitely more than during any other period in the Middle Ages. Although it be granted that Petrarch was the "morning star of the Renaissance," it must not be forgotten that in his advocacy of the study of the ancient classics he shone forth so clearly, not alone by his own brilliance, but chiefly because it happened to be darkest just before the dawn.

APPENDIX I.

A Time-Table of Lectures in the Arts Course of the University of Toulouse, 1309.

The following time-table was sanctioned by the faculty of arts of the University of Toulouse in 1309 in order to avoid conflicts and disputes between masters and bachelors. At Toulouse there was a special faculty of grammar and another in arts,[1] hence no grammatical books are included except the *Priscianus minor* which for some unknown reason was taught in the arts course. The program of studies consists almost wholly of the books of Aristotle and is practically identical with the programs of the University of Paris,[2] but nevertheless it is unique in that it specifies the exact years and periods of the day when the various books were to be taught.[3]

The academic year at Toulouse was divided into two terms, a winter term extending from the feast of St. Luke, October 18th, to that of St. John the Baptist, June 24th; the summer term from June 24th to October 18th. The chief books were taken up in the winter term and during the first hours of the morning.

It will be noticed that the first two periods of the morning were reserved for the masters who gave the important ordinary lectures. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth periods, that is,

[1]See above, p. 55.

[2]For the statutes of 1215, 1252, 1254, 1366 and 1452, prescribing the work in the arts course at Paris see Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 433 ff.

[3]In his valuable little school-book, *Readings in the History of Education, Mediaeval Universities*, Cambridge, 1909, Professor Arthur O. Norton of Harvard prints a time-table of lectures of the Faculty of Fine Arts at Leipzig, 1519 (pp. 132-4). He says he could not find an earlier document of that kind. This one of Toulouse antedates that of Leipzig by more than two centuries and gives a much better picture of the medieval course in arts.

until about three o'clock, were occupied by the various exercises of the bachelors, who were what we should call assistants and instructors at our universities. After three o'clock came the extraordinary lectures of the masters and bachelors on the books of Aristotle on natural philosophy.[4]

In addition to the regular lecture work a very important part of the exercises was the weekly disputation held by the masters not later than the beginning of the sixth period or about three o'clock. While the disputation was going on all other work in the faculty of arts was suspended and all the bachelors and *repetitores* were obliged to attend.

In Lent some slight changes were made in the program. During the fourth period the bachelors were to hold conferences or do such other things as the masters saw fit. The lectures of the bachelors on the "New Logic" which ordinarily came at the sixth period, were to begin immediately after the midday meal and were to extend to the beginning of the seventh period. After that, masters only were to give extraordinary lectures. The disputations during Lent must begin immediately after the midday meal.

The following is the statute from which this tabulation has been made.

1309. 10 AVRIL.—STATUTS DE LA FACULTÉ DES ARTS.[5]

Noverint universi, quod cum dissentio verteretur inter magistros, bacallarios et scolares universos artium in studio Tolosano, super disputationibus, determinationibus, ac etiam super lectura librorum infrascriptorum, de modo et hora legendi et lectiones magistrorum repetendi, religiosus vir et discretus dominus prior de Buseto, doctor decretorum, rector dicti studii, de assensu et voluntate totius Universitatis, commisit diffiniendam et determinandam dictam dissensionem religiosis ac discretis viris lectoribus fratrum Predicatorum, fratum Minorum, et fratrum

[4]See Molinier, "Etude sur l'Organisation de l'Université de Toulouse," in Devic et Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, VII, 604-605.

[5]Fournier, *Statuts*, I, p. 465, no. 542.

A Time-Table of Lectures in the Arts Course of the University of Toulouse, 1309.

Periods		1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year
1st Period	Winter Term	*Prior* and *Posterior Analytics.*[1]	*Topics. Sophistical Refutations.*	Same as first year.[2]	Same as second year.[2]
	Summer Term	*Ethics* (first five books).	*Ethics* (last five books).	*On the Soul.*	*Ethics* was again begun and so on in rotation.
2nd Period	Winter Term	*Isagoge* of Porphyry. *Categories. On Interpretation. Priscian Minor.*	Same[3]	Same	Same
	Summer Term	*Six Principles* of Gilbert de la Porrée. *Divisions* of Boethius, or first three books of his *Topics. Priscian* to be finished.	Same[3]	Same	Same
3rd Period		Just after the lectures of the masters certain bachelors, appointed for the purpose, reviewed the work given by the masters in the morning. Two groups of bachelors were appointed to do this work, one from the beginning of the winter term to Easter, and the other from Easter to the end of the summer term.			
4th Period[4]		No scheduled work. It is possible that extraordinary lectures by bachelors on Priscian and the "Old Logic," for which no definite period is specified, were given at this time.			
Mid-day Meal					
5th Period		Time set apart for conferences of the bachelors or for doing other things which the masters might designate.			
6th Period[5]	Extraordinary lectures by bachelors[6]	*Topics. Sophistical Refutations.*	*Prior* and *Posterior Analytics.*	Same as first year.[7]	Same as second year.[7]

A Time-Table of Lectures in the Arts Course of the University of Toulouse, 1309.

Periods		1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year
7th Period	Extraordinary lectures by masters and bachelors[7]	*Physics.*	*On Generation and Destruction.* Parva Naturalia.[8] 1. *Sense and Sensible Things.* 2. *Memory and Recollection.* 3. *Sleep and Waking.* 4. *Longevity and Shortlivedness.* 5. *Life and Death.* 6. *Respiration and Expiration.* 7. *Youth and Old Age.* *On the Cause of the Motion of Animals.* *On the Locomotion of Animals.*	*On the Heavens and the Earth.* *Meteorics.*	*Metaphysics.*

[1]Unless otherwise indicated the books are Aristotle's.

[2]Thus the "New Logic" was completed every two years. The terms "New" and "Old Logic" were invented in the Middle Ages. The "New Logic" included the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophistical Refutations*. The "Old Logic" always comprised the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, the *Categories* and *On Interpretation*. With these were sometimes included the *Divisions* and *Topics* of Boethius and even the *Six Principles* of Gilbert de la Porrée. (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium*, I, 228, 278.)

[3]Thus the "Old Logic" would be finished each year.

[4]That there was such a period we see from the following special regulation in regard to Lent: "In Quadragesima tamen totum tempus, quod est post repetitiones lectionum usque ad commestionem, sit bacallariorum ad conferendum et alia faciendum."

[5]The sixth period began at nones, hence about three o'clock. The statute does not name the exact hour when lectures began in the morning, but it was probably about six o'clock, the usual opening hour at most medieval universities. It seems that the various periods were something over an hour in length. The seventh period was not limited; it was simply all the time after the close of the sixth.

[6]These lectures were to begin not later than the second school day after All Saints Day (November 1).

[7]For the distinction between "ordinary" and "extraordinary" lectures see Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 207-208; 426-27. These extraordinary lectures of the seventh period were to begin at the latest on the first school day after All Saints Day (November 1).

[8]The "Parva Naturalia" also included *On Dreams and Prophesying in Sleep* which however was practically never read at medieval universities. The "Parva Naturalia" were considered appendices to the book *On the Soul*.

[9]Thus the bachelors also finished the "New Logic" in two years but alternated with the masters in the books read.

Beate Marie de Carmelo. Qui, habito tractatu diligenti, communi utilitate inspecta, ad diffiniendum, determinandum et statuendum inviolabiliter, sub pena V solidorum tolosanorum Universitati predicte applicanda pro qualibet contradictione seu defectu in aliqua infrascriptorum syndico, Universitatis nomine ipsius stipulanti, in modum qui sequitur processerunt.

I. Ad promotionem et commodum dicti studii Tolosani diffinimus ac statuimus, quod in uno anno, a festo beati Luce evangeliste usque ad festum beati Johannis Baptiste, legantur in mane libri Priorum et Posteriorum Aristotelis, alio vero anno libri Topicorum Aristotelis et libri Elenchorum, et sic continue procedatur singulis annis. Libros tamen, qui eodem anno debent legi, diversis annis alternatim incipiendo, a festo beati Johannis usque ad festum beati Luce. Legantur uno anno quinque libri Ethicorum, et alio anno alii quinque per ordinem, et tertio anno liber de Anima. Deinde sicut prius circulando procedatur predictos libros legendo complete.

II. Item, statuimus, quod post lectionem matutinam, a festo beati Luce usque ad festum beati Johannis, legantur singulis annis complete primo tres libri veteris Logice, deinde Priscianus minor. A festo beati Johannis usque ad festum beati Luce, legantur dicta hora libri sex Principiorum cum libro Divisionum Boecii vel cum tribus primis libris Topicorum Boecii per ordinem, cum hoc complendo, si quid de Prissciano minori incompletum remanserit in ordinario procedenti.

III. Item, immediate post lectiones magistrorum legantur tractatus de mane per bacallarios a magistris deputatos bis solum in anno, scilicet semel a festo beati Luce usque ad festum Pasche, et semel ab octabis Pasche usque ad festum beati Luce, si tamen in festo Pasche fuerint completi; ita quod, postquam tractatus in principio yemis incepti fuerint, de cetero non incipiantur iterum in paschali tempore, donec completi fuerint pro yeme terminati.

IV. Item, de physica reali legantur extraordinarie complete libri qui sequuntur per magistros regentes in dicto studio seu per alios sufficientes magistros seu bacalarios a magistris regentibus ad hoc deputatos.—Primo anno legatur liber Phisicorum.—

Secundo anno liber de Generatione et corruptione, et primi libri naturales qui sequntur, scilicet liber de Sensu et de sensato, liber de Memoria et reminiscentia, liber de Sompno et de vigilia, liber de Causis longitudinis et brevitatis vite, liber de Morte et vita, respiratione et expiratione, juventute et senectute, liber de Causa motus animalium, liber de Progressu animalium. Et isti qui spectant ad secundum annum sunt de forma positi loco quorumdam aliorum, qui modicum utilitatis videbantur habere.—Tertio anno legantur libri de Celo et mundo, Metheororum.—Quarto anno Metaphisica Aristotelis. Deinde sicut prius in quolibet quadriennio circulando procedatur. Et ad tardius magistri teneantur incipere dictos libros singulis annis prima die legibili post festum Omnium Sanctorum.

V. Item, bacallarii, qui per magistros singulis annis ad hoc deputentur, teneantur quolibet anno complete legere illos libros de nova Logica, qui pro anno non spectant ad ordinarium magistrorum, scilicet uno anno librum Topicorum Aristotelis et librum Elencorum, alio vero anno librum Priorum et Posteriorum, ut proficere ac studere cogantur; et ad tardius teneantur incipere dictos libros secunda die legibili post festum Omnium Sanctorum. Quilibet autem audientium dictos libros nove Logice a bacallariis antedictis teneatur eisdem pro salario solvere, pro libro Topicorum VIII denarios turonenses; pro libro Elencorum IIII denarios turonenses; pro libro Priorum VI denarios turonenses; pro libro Posteriorum sex denarios turonenses; ita tamen quod, quamvis dicti scolares predictos denarios non solverent, nichilominus dicti bacallarii ad predictos legendos et complendos modo premisso, sub pena prius posita, teneantur.

VI. Item, dicti bacallarii teneantur legere Logicam veterem quolibet anno, quando Priscianum minorem in suo extraordinario finiverint, in hora eadem in qua dictum Priscianum legebant.

VII. Item, totum tempus, quod est post commestionem usque ad primam pulsationem none, tempore non quadragesimali, sit bacallariorum ad conferendum vel alia faciendum, que sibi et magistris utilia videbuntur. Totum vero tempus a prima pulsa-

tione none usque ad pulsationem extraordinarii doctorum legum, assignetur bacallariis ad legendum de nova Logica. Totum vero sequens tempus cedat lecture extraordinarie magistrorum. In Quadragesima tamen totum tempus, quod est post repetitiones lectionum usque ad commestionem, sit bacallariorum ad conferendum et alia faciendum, que sibi et magistris utilia videbuntur. Lectura vero bacallariorum de nova Logica habeat tempus immediate post commestionem usque ad pulsationem extraordinarii doctorum. Totum vero sequens tempus cadat lecture magistrorum. Nec magistri horam bacallariorum seu scolares horam magistrorum impedire presumant, nec alios actus a predictis sub dicta pena prefatis horis exercere.

VIII. Item, cum legetur lectio de Phisica reali (vel) libri consimilis deputati a magistris, ut eis affectuosius ac diligentius intentatur, cum etiam legetur lectio de nova Logica per aliquem bacallariorum in hora prius bacallariis assignata, nullus alius actus in eisdem scolis nec aliis ejusdem facultatis exerceatur, nisi lectio de consimili libro.

IX. Item, pro lectura realis phisice tribuatur quolibet anno certa summa recompensanda magistro legenti, si solum unus legerit, vel pluribus si plures realem phisicam legerint. Que summa ab omnibus baccallariis et repetitoribus necnon etiam a scolaribus pro reali phisica audienda sufficientibus colligatur, quando magistro legenti placuerit, per aliquos ab eodem ad hoc deputatos quolibet yeme, cum magister librorum phisice inceperit, et dicta summa eidem magistro tribuatur, scilicet a quolibet predictorum audientium seu non audientium, audire tamen sufficientium II solidos turonensium. Ad quos solvendos omnes predicti per rectorem, si oportuerit, compellantur. Nec dicti magistri facere possint gratiam dictis bacallariis, repetitoribus vel scolaribus super predictis II solidis turonensibus, nisi impotentiam propter paupertatem allegent, quam teneantur asserere, fide data.

X. Item, magistri in artibus teneantur disputare ad minus semel in septimana, incipiendo disputationem ad tardius in prima pulsatione none, si tempus quadragesimale non fuerit, in Quad-

ragesima vero statim post comestionem. Et in tota illa die post ceptam disputationem, nullus alius actus in eisdem scolis nec in aliis ejusdem facultatis exerceatur, quousque disputatio completa fuerit; et disputationi magistrali bacallarii et repetitores teneantur interesse complete, nisi causa rationabilis eos excuset, ut per hoc ipsi proficiant et scolares exemplo eorum ad simile inclinentur.

XI. Item, quilibet magistrorum determinet questionem quam disputabit, antequam iterum disputet. Bacallarii vero et repetitores teneantur interesse determinationi complete, nisi excusationem legitimam habeant, ne determinationes propter defectum audientium omittantur. [*et cetera.*]

APPENDIX II.

Survivals of the Ancient Classics, circa 1225 to 1325.

The following are some illustrations to show that in spite of the general decadence of the classics during this period they were still known and read by some students and savants in isolated places throughout western Europe.

I. France.

(1) In France the most interesting of such solitary classicists was Vincent of Beauvais, a Dominican monk (d. 1264). He had exceptional opportunities for the study of the classics for he was tutor of the children of King Louis IX and collected for his own use a large number of manuscripts in the library of the Sainte-Chapelle at Paris. Whatever may have been the spirit in which he studied the ancient authors, his wide acquaintance with them cannot be denied. It is astounding to read the list of books of antiquity which he quotes or mentions in his vast encyclopaedia, the *Speculum Mundi*.[1]

(2) Etienne de Bourbon was also a Dominican monk who had been a student at Paris about 1220 and who wrote about 1260. From his works it is evident that he was acquainted with at least the following authors: Cicero, Pliny the Elder, Seneca. Macrobius, Ovid and Lucan.[2]

(3) At the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 17903, is a codex of the thirteenth century originally from Notre Dame which is a kind of anthology containing extracts from many

[1]Boutaric, "Vincent de Beauvais et la Connaissance de l'Antiquité Classique au Treizième Siècle," in *Rev. des Quest. Hist.*, XVII, 5-57.

[2]Lecoy de la Marche (ed.), *Anecdotes Historiques . . . d'Etienne de Bourbon*, p. xiv.

classical authors, such as Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Martial, Petronius, Virgil, Terence, Sallust, Cicero, Quintilian, Seneca, Plautus, Aulus Gellius, Caesar and Suetonius.[3] MS. Lat. 13582, fol. 164-167 (13th century or first half of the 14th) also contains such extracts. Whether these had any connection with the University of Paris in the thirteenth century is hard to tell.

In 1276 the University of Paris issued a decree that all masters and bachelors were forbidden to read in private any books except logical and grammatical works.[4] This may have been aimed against the reading of the classics but more probably it was to be a safeguard against heresies such as the Averroism of Siger de Brabant and his followers.[5]

(4) At Toulouse there is a student's note-book of the thirteenth century containing comments on the first book of the Georgics of Virgil and on a fragment of Seneca. No name or place is given.[6]

(5) The pseudo-Boethius, *De Disciplina Scholarium*, a tract written by a monk of Brabant in the thirteenth century, and which mentions the University of Paris, recommends to students the following authors: Seneca, Lucan, Virgil, Statius, Horace, Persius and Ovid.[7]

II. Germany.

(1) There is reason for believing that at Erfurt in Germany there was a classical school something like that at Orleans.[8] Nicolaus de Bibera, a cleric at Erfurt, in his *Carmen satiricum* (1281-1283), mentions the following classical authors: Ovid, Juvenal, Terence, Horace, Persius, Plautus, Virgil and

[3]Delisle, *Inventaire des MSS. Latins de Notre Dame et d'autres Fonds*, 73. See also *Philologus*, 27 (1868), 152-157; Wöllflin, "Eine neue Handschrift des Tibull."

[4]Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium*, I, 538.

[5]See Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*.

[6]*Catalogue Général des MSS.* Tome VII, Paris, 1885, p. 459, no. 811 (I 324).

[7]Printed in Migne, *Patrologiae Lat.* 64, 1223-1238. Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, II, 515. Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I, 759, n. 20.

[8]Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I, 404, 408, 758, n. 19, 761.

Lucan.[9] Very probably Henri d'Andeli in his *Battle of the Seven Arts* was thinking of Erfurt when he says toward the end of his poem that in Germany the classics still had a home.[10]

(2) The *Laborinthus*, a poem written probably before 1250, but after 1212, recites a large number of classical writers with whom the author, a school-master, was familiar.[11] The *Laborinthus* is usually ascribed to Eberhard of Bethune, the author of the *Graecismus* (1212), but Thurot believed he had found sufficient evidence to prove that the Eberhard who wrote the *Laborinthus* was a German.[12]

(3) In 1280, Hugo of Trimberg, a school-master of Bamberg, wrote his *Registrum multorum auctorum*, a long list of books with which he says he was familiar.[13] He names the following classical writers: Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Sallust, Cicero, Juvenal, Persius, Seneca, Lucan, Statius and Terence, and tries to arouse enthusiasm for them because he says that in his day they have been neglected.[14]

(4) Conrad of Mure was canon and chief *cantor* of the

[9]Nicolai de Bibera, *Carmen Satiricum*, (ed., Th. Fischer), vv. 35-44. These lines have been conveniently reprinted by Gottlieb, *Über Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, 446.

[10]"Li Breton & li Alemant
Font encore .j. poi son commant."
vv. 446-47, Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli*, 59.

[11]*Laborintus*, Tertius Tractatus, *de Versificatione;* Leyser, *Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aevi*, 825-831. This extract has been reprinted in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis*, II, 487, but more conveniently in Gottlieb, *Über Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, 443. See also Franke, *Zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Schulpoesie*, 23.

[12]Thurot, "Documents relatif à l'histoire de la poésie latine au moyen âge," in *Comptes rendus Acad. des Inscript. et Belles Lettres*, (1870), p. 259. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, pt. I, 389, accepts his conclusion as stated by Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits de quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibl. Nat.*, IV, 281.

[13]Hugo von Trimberg, *Registrum Multorum Auctorum* (ed. Huemer).

[14]"Per experientiam rerum tamen cerno
Crebris cogitatibus metumque discerno,
Quod omne vetus studium perit accedente moderno."
(Praefatio), vv. 28-30. Huemer, 15.

church of Zürich about 1275. In his *Fabularius* he discusses the fables of the ancient poets in alphabetical order and discloses a remarkable acquaintance with classical literature.[15]

III. England.

(1) Roger Bacon (d. 1292 or 1294), although an Englishman, spent much of his life in France. He had read at least from Servius, Lucan, Juvenal, Statius, Horace and Persius, and in all probability was well versed in many other classical books.[16]

(2) In the British Museum there is a chronicle of the history of the world, dated 1270, which cites a remarkably large number of classical authors.[17]

(3) Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Pauls of London, (d. 1302), in his *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, published in the Rolls Series, refers to the following classical authors: Caesar, Suetonius, Solinus, Florus, Apuleius, Virgil, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Claudian and Vegetius.[18]

(4) Nicholas Trivet (1258?-1328), an historian and philologist who had been a student at Oxford and Paris, commented on Livy, Valerius Maximus, Juvenal, Seneca and Ovid.[19]

(5) Walter Burley (1275-1345?) was fairly well acquainted with Cicero and other ancient authors.[20]

(6) The famous bibliophile, Richard of Bury (1281-1346), knew most of the books of classical writers as is clear from his

[15]Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher*, I, 405.

[16]*The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon*, ed. Nolan-Hirsch, 37. See also above, p. 45, n. 59.

[17]Cod. Brit. Mus. Addit. 11413 *membr. saec.* XV. Gottlieb, *Über Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, 446.

[18]Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis *Opera Historica. Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, Vol. I, 3-263, ed. Stubbs, 1876. See also Gottlieb, *Über Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, 447.

[19]*Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXIV, 393. *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[20]*Dictionary of National Biography.* Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*, I, 37.

Philobiblion. He met Petrarch at Avignon in 1333 but he never shared Petrarch's great enthusiasm for the classics.[21]

IV. Italy.

During this period the classics were neglected in Italy about as much as elsewhere. The *trouvère* Henri d'Andeli, who knew only lawyers and *dictatores* from Lombardy, saw no hope for the ancient authors in Italy.[22] Nevertheless, here as well as in the rest of Europe, the classics were studied by some, long before the days of Petrarch. The renowned Italian poet Jacob of Todi (d. 1306) in his *Rinunzia del Mondo* said a sad farewell to his beloved classics, especially the sweet melody of Cicero.[23] He was the contemporary of men like Albertino Mussato, Brunetto Latini, Dante, and other well-known precursors of the Italian revival of classical learning.[24]

In conclusion it may be noted that the well-known Latin student songs, the so-called *Carmina Burana*, many of which date from the thirteenth century, are full of classical allusions and humanistic feeling.[25]

[21]Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung,* II, 248.

[22]"Li Breton & li Alemant
Font encore .j. poi son commant;
Mès se li Lombart le tenoient,
Icil le par estrangleroient."
vv. 446-49, Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli,* 59.

[23]"lassovi le scritture antiche,
che mi eran cotanto amiche,
et le Tulliane rubriche,
che mi fean tal melodia."
Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa,* II, 738.

[24]Körting, *Geschichte der Literatur Italiens,* III, 302 ff; Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa,* II, 736-739; Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung,* I, 11-19; Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship,* I, 610-616.

[25]*Carmina Burana,* ed. Schmeller, Stuttgart, 1847, 3rd ed. 1894. Selected poems translated into English by Symonds, in *Wine, Women and Song;* see also the bibliography appended in Symonds, and Molinier, *Sources de l'Histoire de France,* II, 210.

APPENDIX III.

The Text-Book "Alexander" Used at Toulouse and Other Universities of Southern France.

The writings of Alexander of Villedieu have caused a great deal of difficulty. Thurot and Reichling, in the works cited above, p. 37, n. 20, have done much to clarify matters but many hard problems still remain. It is rather strange that the book called *Alexander*, which is the topic of discussion here, has never attracted the attention of these and other scholars, for its very name suggests Alexander of Villedieu.

It will be necessary to discuss in detail some of his known works.

Soon after the appearance of the *Doctrinale* he composed another metrical work, the *Ecclesiale*, which treats of the art of determining church festivals, of ritual, canon law and other ecclesiastical matters. It is not a grammatical book and therefore does not concern us except as a factor in determining other data.[1]

The author himself says in one of his writings that he drew the material for both the *Doctrinale* and the *Ecclesiale* from a previous work of his own.[2] He probably referred to the encyclopaedic work which he began with his two companions at Paris.[3]

In the prologue to the *Doctrinale* it is suggested that it should be read after the *Alphabetum minus* and then, whoever

[1]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, Einleitung, xxxviii. The unique MS. of the *Ecclesiale* is at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. Lat. 14927.

[2]"Quae doctrinale sunt scripta vel ecclesiali
Libro cuncta fere fuerunt contenta priore."
From the so-called *Alphabetum maius* quoted by Thurot, *De Alexandri de Villa Dei Doctrinali*, 14, from Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 7682 A, fol. 88.

[3]See above, p. 37.

wished to continue reading the books of Alexander, should read his *Alphabetum maius.*[4] Evidently, then, Alexander had written two other works which he called *Alphabetum minus* and *maius* respectively.[5]

About the former nothing further is known except its *incipit* cited by one of the glossators of the *Doctrinale.*[6]

The *Alphabetum maius* probably was that portion of the large encyclopaedic work above mentioned (p. 37) which dealt with grammar.[7] It was in prose and, as we have just seen, had furnished the chief materials for the *Doctrinale.* Later, Alexander set about transforming even the *Alphabetum maius* into verse form, at least in part. Such materials as were already incorporated in the *Doctrinale* or the *Ecclesiale* were omitted in this new work.

Today two manuscripts are extant which have the title *Alphabetum maius,* one at Paris[8] and the other at Bruges.[9] Both plainly state that Alexander of Villedieu is the author. Unfortunately I have been unable to compare the MSS. closely but they seem to be very similar. That at Bruges is carefully written and apparently is somewhat longer than the one at Paris.

The "*Alphabetum maius*" of these two MSS. is in the form of a glossary. It contains, however, not merely the definitions of words but also synonyms and all the grammatical accidents of a word as case, gender, declination, together with its derivation.[10]

[4] "Post Alphabetum minus haec doctrina legetur;
Inde leget maius, mea qui documenta sequetur;
Iste fere totus liber est extractus ab illo."
Doctrinale, Prooemium, vv. 26-28, Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* 8.

[5] For an interesting gloss on the *Doctrinale,* dated 1301, which takes up the question of these two books and shows that they cannot be the grammars of Donatus and Priscian, see Delisle, "Maitre Yon," in *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* XXXI, 7.

[6] Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xxxv.

[7] Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xxxiii.

[8] Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 7682 A, fol. 88 ff. (13th cent.).

[9] Bruges MS. 544 (probably also 13th century).

[10] See the *Prologue,* vv. 44-70, the most significant portions of which have been printed from the Paris MS. by Thurot, *De Alexandri de Villa Dei Doctrinali,* 13.

It seems to have been designed as a hand-book and dictionary to supplement the *Doctrinale*. A lengthy prologue in verse explains the nature of the "*Glossary*." The author says that it does not differ much from an earlier book of his except that the greater part of it is in verse whereas the former is in prose.[11] After the prologue comes the dictionary arranged alphabetically in such a way that vowels come first and the consonants follow, thus: a, e, i, o, u, b, c, d, f, etc. The first fifty lines or more are in regular verse form with the words defined written in the margin.[12] After that, throughout the remainder of the work, most of the definitions are in prose, but scattered all through are some in verse, like the following defining the seven liberal arts:

> "Tres sunt gramatica dialectica retoricamque
> Iunge, magistralis has tres trivium vocat usus
> Iungis arismetice geometriam subit inde
> Musica quadrivium tibi perficit astronomia."[13]

It seems as if Alexander realized that it would not be feasible to try to write all or even most of his "*Glossary*" in verse and that therefore he resorted to that form only here and there. Indeed, as we have just seen, he had stated in the prologue that he would employ it only so far as he saw fit. Perhaps, too, he was not able to carry out his original intentions and therefore incorporated verbatim into this new work much of the earlier prose treatise.

Although both manuscripts of the "*Glossary*" call it the *Alphabetum maius* nevertheless this title gives rise to difficulties. We have seen that Alexander had thus named the prose work which served as the basis for this semi-metrical glossary. It is

[11] "Istius est operis eadem sententia primo;
Sed tamen in verbis multum variatur ab illo;
Prosaque quod dat ibi, volo versibus hic reserari
Ex magnâ parte, prout esse videbo necesse,
Auxilioque metri poterit levius retineri....."
Quoted by Thurot, *De Alex. de V. D. Doctrinali*, 13.

[12] The Bruges manuscript has about 37 more such lines than the manuscript at Paris.

[13] Bruges MS. 544, see under the words *artes liberales*. Where such definitions in verse occur the word defined is usually found in the margin except when the definition consists of one line only.

of course possible that he gave to the *"Glossary"* as we have it the same title which the prose work had had and called them both *Alphabetum maius.*[14] However, in the prologue to the *"Glossary"* he does not give it a name although he named both the *Doctrinale* and *Ecclesiale* in their prefaces. Two glosses of the *Doctrinale*, one dating from the thirteenth century, call the *"Glossary"* of Alexander, the *Correptio Prisciani,* because, they say, it corrects Priscian in many places.[15] This would make it seem probable that the *"Glossary"* had no definite name because Alexander himself had not given it one and that the title *Alphabetum maius* of our manuscripts was arbitrarily affixed to them by the scribes.[16]

[14]This is Reichling's theory. *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xxxiii.

[15]Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xxxiv; Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 511.

[16]Thurot and Reichling do not agree as regards the *Alphabetum maius.* Thurot, *De Alex.,* 16, believes that it was the large encyclopaedic prose work from which the *Doctrinale,* the *Ecclesiale* and the metrical *"Glossary"* were all drawn. The *"Glossary"* found in the Paris MS. 7682 A and entitled *Alphabetum maius* he thinks has been falsely named. He regards the great bulk of it as a mere abridgement of the original metrical *"Glossary"* (which he considers lost) of which some verses have here and there been retained. Although he briefly mentions the Bruges MS. (*Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 30, quoting from Laude, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Bruges,* 477) and speaks of its title as "évidemment fautif," he probably never saw it.

Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xxxiii, holds that the original *Alphabetum maius,* which Alexander mentions in the *Doctrinale,* was not the large encyclopaedic work, but simply that portion of it which pertained to grammar alone; that from this prose *Alphabetum* Alexander wrote the metrical "Glossary" which he likewise called *Alphabetum maius;* that the MS. 7682 A of Paris contains only the prologue and a small fragment of the versified *"Glossary"* (referring to the fifty odd lines of solid verse following the prologue), the rest of the Paris MS. being the untouched portion of the original prose *Alphabetum maius.* He does not mention the Bruges MS., having overlooked the brief notice of it given by Thurot. On p. xxxiv he criticizes Thurot for having overlooked the greater portion of the Paris MS., which criticism is misdirected for Thurot, *Not. et Extr.,* 36, expressly states that he considers that portion an abridgement in prose of the metrical *"Glossary,"* several verses of the original having been retained.

My opinion is that the two MSS. in question contain the *"Glossary"* in the shape in which Alexander left it, partly prose, partly verse. The Bruges copy seems to be a revised and a better edition. As stated in the text, I agree with

It will be well to summarize the works of Alexander thus far discussed:

(1) An encyclopaedic prose work from which the material for the other books was drawn. This is not known to be extant today.

(2) The *Alphabetum maius* in prose, which contained those portions of the previous work that pertained to grammar. It also has not come down to us.

(3) The famous *Doctrinale* in verse drawn largely from the *Alphabetum maius.*

(4) The *Ecclesiale,* also in verse. Not a grammatical treatise.

(5) The *Alphabetum minus,* an elementary treatise on grammar which has been lost.

(6) A *"Glossary"* or grammatical dictionary partly in verse, based on the prose *Alphabetum maius.* It is preserved in two MSS., one at Paris, the other at Bruges, both of which give it the title *Alphabetum maius.* No name, however, was assigned to it by the author himself in the prologue or conclusion of the work. Two glosses of the *Doctrinale* refer to it as the *Correptio Prisciani.* The title, therefore, is doubtful.[17]

Both Thurot and Reichling point out that although the *Doctrinale* became so very popular, all the other writings of Alexander had fallen into almost complete oblivion as early as the middle of the thirteenth century.[18] So little was known of them that commentators on the *Doctrinale* often identified the *Alphabetum minus* and *maius* with Donatus and Priscian respectively.[19]

Thurot (as against Reichling) that the work has been given a false title, without however subscribing to his reasons therefor. The superscription in the Bruges MS.—*Mag. Alexandri Alphabetum maius*—was plainly added by a later hand. The two MSS. deserve a closer study which would probably help to solve the relationship between the original *Alphabetum maius* and the semi-metrical *"Glossary."*

[17]Alexander wrote a few more minor works but they do not concern us here. See Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xli.

[18]Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 29: Reichling, *Das Doctrinale,* Einleitung, xl.

[19]See above, p. 107, n. 5.

There is, however, reason to believe that the *"Glossary"* of Alexander was used extensively during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at some universities of southern France.

The program of study for the University of Toulouse, dated 1328, prescribed the following books for instruction in grammar: *Priscian, Doctrinale, Alexander* and *Ebrardus.*[20] The same quartette is mentioned in statutes of the University of Perpignan[21] and in several other statutes of Toulouse. Very probably *Alexander* is the name of a text-book of grammar or the author of such a book. The natural inference would be that the *Alexander* was the famous *Doctrinale,* were it not that that work of Alexander of Villedieu is included in the list. The book *Alexander* is also listed in several inventories of students' books coming from the universities of Toulouse,[22] Perpignan,[23] and Avignon;[24] all of which goes to show that it must have been in common use at those universities of southern France.

Beyond these meagre notices nothing more can be learned about the enigmatical *Alexander.* There is a bare possibility that it refers to the *Alexander* of Gautier de Lille.[25] However, according to the program of Toulouse just referred to, the masters in grammar were to read *Priscian,* the *Doctrinale* and *Alexander* in the morning and in the afternoon *Ebrardus, de Historiis Alexandri,* etc.[26] It seems altogether probable that the phrase, *de Historiis Alexandri,* refers to the *Alexandreis* of Gautier and that therefore another explanation must be sought to determine the identity of our *Alexander.*

May not the text-book *Alexander* have been the *"Glossary"*

[20]Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 501. By *Ebrardus* is meant the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune. See above, pp. 50 ff.

[21]Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 678.

[22]Fournier, *Statuts,* I, 794 [67] (A. D. 1435).

[23]Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 689 (A. D. c. 1400).

[24]Fournier, *Statuts,* II, 458 [140], 460 [35] (A. D. 1453).

[25]See above, p. 24. Pierre Vidal, *Histoire de la Ville de Perpignan,* 293, happening upon the title *Alexander* in an inventory of books says, note 2, "C'est sans doute le roman d'Alexandre, ou la Geste d'Alissandre, attribuée à Thomas de Kent."

[26]See above, p. 50.

of Alexander of Villedieu as found today in the MSS. of Paris and Bruges and there named *Alphabetum maius?* Although all the evidence is circumstantial there is much in favor of this hypothesis. In all probability the *Alexander* was some kind of a grammatical treatise since it is always mentioned along with the well-known grammars *Priscian*, the *Doctrinale* and the *Graecismus*. It has been shown that the *"Glossary"* of Alexander of Villedieu did not have a definite title. In the south of France they may well have called it simply *Alexander* after the author of the well-known *Doctrinale*. The passage has already been quoted in which Alexander of Villedieu advises his readers to supplement the *Doctrinale* by his *Alphabetum maius*.[27] Since the *"Glossary"* in question was drawn almost entirely from that prose work it surely in like manner was designed to supplement the *Doctrinale*. Now in the programs of both Toulouse and Perpignan, the lectures on the *Doctrinale* preceded those on the *Alexander* which seems to indicate that the latter was to amplify the former. In the universities of southern France grammar was studied more extensively than in any other part of Europe which may account for the fact that the *Alexander* was read there and not elsewhere.

It may therefore be assumed with a high degree of probability that in addition to the *Doctrinale* the *"Glossary"* of Alexander of Villedieu called *Alexander*, was an important grammatical text-book at some medieval universities.[28]

[27]See above, p. 107, n. 4.

[28]I take this opportunity to thank again Professor C. Molinier of the University of Toulouse who has done me the favor of searching at Toulouse for MSS of the *Alexander* but without success.

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In a discussion based upon the *Dictionarius,* the *de utensilium nominibus* and *Adae Parvipontani* of these authors, Scheler presents much new information and makes several good suggestions in regard to the study of the language and literature of the thirteenth century.

Schepps, G. See Conrad of Hirschau.

Thurot, Ch. *Notices et Extraits de divers MSS. Latins pour servir à l'Histoire des Doctrines Grammaticales au Moyen Age.* In *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* XXII, pt. 2. Paris, 1868.

A masterpiece of its kind which has served ever since its publication as an important basis for all subsequent works on the study of grammar in the Middle Ages.

Wright, T. (ed.) *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets.* 2 Vols. London, 1872 (Rolls Series).

Contains many of the important Latin poems written especially in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, e. g. John of Hauteville's *Architrenius* and Alain de Lille's *Anti Claudianus.*

Wrobel, J. See Eberhard of Bethune.

II. SECONDARY WORKS.

Abelson, P. *The Seven Liberal Arts. A Study in Medieval Culture.* N. Y., 1906.

A doctor's thesis, Columbia University. The most recent treatment of this subject. Contains many new contributions. The author had not seen Appuhn, *Das Trivium,* and Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres.*

Allbutt, T. C. *Science and Medieval Thought.* The Harveian Oration, Oct. 18, 1900. London, 1901.

A summary of, rather than a contribution to the subject.

Appuhn, A. *Das Trivium und Quadrivium in Theorie und Praxis.* I Theil, *Das Trivium.* Erlangen, 1900.

A doctor's thesis, University of Erlangen. Pt. II has never appeared. The author relies a good deal upon Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens,* but also exhibits a great deal of independent research.

Bäbler, J. J. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Grammatik im Mittelalter.* Halle, 1885.

Supplements Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2.

Barnard, H. *An Account of Universities and other Institutions of Superior Instruction in Different Countries.* (National Education, Pt. III). Revised ed. Hartford, 1873.

Contains translations and reprints, such as (p. 271) "The Universities of the Middle Ages," a translation of Savigny, F. C., *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter,* III, 152-419; and (p. 321) "Universities —Past and Present," a translation of Döllinger, *Die Universitäten Sonst und Jetzt.*

Bourgain, L. *La Chaire Française au XIIe Siècle, d'après les MSS.* Paris, 1879.

This book is not so good as Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age,* which treats the thirteenth century more particularly. These two books on preaching in the Middle Ages have made a vast contribution to our knowledge of medieval culture. For the utilization of sermons as sources for university life, see Haskins, "The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century," *Amer. Hist. Rev.,* X, 1-27.

Boutaric, E. *Vincent de Beauvais, et la Connaissance de l'Antiquité Classique au Treizième Siècle.* Paris, 1875. Also found in *Revue des Questions Historiques,* XVII, 5-57.

The best study of Vincent of Beauvais' knowledge of the ancient classics.

Bresslau, H. *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien,* I, Leipzig, 1889.

For our purpose this splendid manual is useful especially for its sketch of the *ars dictaminis* and *ars notaria.* Only one volume has appeared.

Budinski, A. *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter.* Berlin, 1876.

Reveals the remarkably large number of famous foreign professors and students at the University of Paris. A piece of work that should be followed up for this and other medieval universities.

Cantor, M. *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik.* 3 Vols. 2nd edition. Leipzig, 1894-1900.

The most authoritative general history of mathematics. Vols. I (to 1200) and II (1200-1668) fall within our period.

Carré, G. *L'Enseignement Secondaire à Troyes, du Moyen Age à la Revolution.* Paris, 1888.

I have had occasion to mention this study which is one of many books of its kind tracing the history of secondary education in various French towns down to 1789.

Catalogue Général des MSS. des Bibliothèques des Departments. Paris, 1855.

Catalogue Général des MSS. des Bibliothèques Publiques de France. Paris, 1886-1892.

Charles, E. *Roger Bacon, sa Vie, ses Ouvrages, ses Doctrines.* Bordeaux, 1861.

Although old it is still the best biography.

Chevalier, U. *Repertoire des Sources Historique du Moyen Age. Bio-bibliographie.* 2 Vols. New edition. Paris, 1905-1907.

Clark, V. S. *Studies in the Latin of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.* N. Y., 1900.

A doctor's thesis, Columbia University. Interesting, but covers too wide a field.

Clerval, A. *Les Ecoles de Chartres au Moyen Age, du Ve au XVIe Siècle.* Paris, 1895.

An excellent monograph on an important subject. Clerval has utilized an enormous amount of unpublished material which throws light on many things of general interest in the intellectual history of the Middle Ages.

Comparetti, D. *Vergil in the Middle Ages.* Tr. by E. Benecke. London, 1895.

Presented in a somewhat popular style but scholarly. Studies of the fortunes of other classical books during the Middle Ages would be welcome. See below, under Manitius.

Compayré, G. *Abelard and the Origin and Early History of Universities.* N. Y., 1902.

A text for schools or for general readers.

Cuissard, C. *L'Etude du Grec à Orléans depuis le IXe Siècle jusqu'au Milieu du XVIIIe Siècle.* Orléans, 1883.

In addition to its special topic it throws some light on other conditions of the schools at Orleans, especially in the critical twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Delègue, R. *L'Université de Paris* (1224-1244). Paris, 1902.

A short contribution to the external history of the university.

DELISLE, L. "Les Ecoles d'Orléans au XIIe et au XIIIe Siècle," in *Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France,* VII (1869), 139-147.

A short but very important study because it revealed the existence of schools at Orleans where the ancient classics and the *ars dictaminis* flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

DELISLE, L. "Alexandre de Villedieu et Guillaume le Moine de Villedieu," in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes,* LV (1894), 488 ff. See also LVII (1901), 158 ff.

Delisle here describes some manuscripts of the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu which Reichling had overlooked.

DELISLE, L. "Maître Yon, Grammarien," in *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* XXXI (1893), 1-21.

Prints (on p. 7) a gloss on the *Doctrinale* which throws light on the works of Alexander of Villedieu.

DELISLE, L. "Notice sur une *Summa Dictaminis* jadis conservée à Beauvais," in *Notices et Extraits,* XXXVI, pt. 1 (1899), 171-205.

Contains a good introduction on the *ars dictaminis.*

DELISLE, L. "Note sur le *Dictamen* de Poncius Provincialis," in *Bulletin de la Soc. Archéol. de l'Orléanais,* IV (1862-67), 42.

Throws light on the itinerant *dictator* Ponce of Provence at Toulouse and elsewhere.

DELISLE, L. *Inventaire des MSS. de l'Abbaye de St. Victor conservés à la Bibliothèque Imperiale sous les Numéros* 14232-15175, *Fonds Latins.* Paris, 1869.

DELISLE, L. *Inventaire des MSS. Latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres Fonds conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les Nos.* 16719-18613. Paris, 1871.

DELISLE, L. *Inventaire des MSS. de la Sorbonne, conservés à la Bibliothèque Imperiale sous les Nos.* 15176-16718. Paris, 1870.

These inventories are useful for a study of the books, especially the ancient classics, extant at Paris during the Middle Ages.

DENIFLE, P. H. *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis* 1400. Vol. I. Berlin, 1885.

The epoch-making book in the history of medieval universities. A second volume has never appeared.

DEWULF, M. *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale.* Louvain, 1900. 2nd enlarged edition, 1905. English tr. by Coffey, P. *History of Mediaeval Philosophy.* Longmans, Green & Co. 1910.

In form a text-book, but on the whole the best brief account of medieval philosophy. Excellent bibliographies. DeWulf himself has brought the English translation up to date.

DEWULF, M. *Introduction à la Philosophie Néo-Scolastique.* Louvain and Paris, 1904. English translation by Coffey, P. *Scholasticism Old and New. An Introduction to Scholastic Philosophy Medieval and Modern.* Dublin and London, 1907.

Contains a remarkable plea for medieval scholasticism, claiming that like Gothic architecture it has been too long neglected because of the sneers of the humanists.

Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. by L. Stephen, and S. Lee. 66 Vols. 1885-1901. New cheaper edition, 1909.

Du Boulay, C. E. *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis a Carolo M. ad nostra Tempora.* 6 Vols. Paris, 1665-73.

Until superseded by the works of Denifle and Rashdall, this remained the standard history of the great French university. It contains a vast amount of learned lore, ill-arranged however and full of mistakes.

Duchesne, L. "Note sur l'Origine du *'cursus'* ou Rythmic Prosaique," in *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes,* L (1889), 161 ff.

Ebert, A. *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande.* 3 Vols. Leipzig, 1874-1887.

This is usually considered the standard work on medieval literature but it is growing decidedly antiquated and must be checked up constantly by Gröber, Sandys, etc.

Eckstein, F. A. *Lateinischer Unterricht,* in Schmid, *Encyklopädie des gesammten Erziehungs und Unterrichtswesens,* IV, 204-405.

Necessarily brief, but accurate within its limits and accompanied by good bibliographies.

Fabricius, J. A. *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae et Aetatis.* 6 Vols. Hamburgi, 1734-46. New edition, 6 Vols. in 3, Pativi, 1754.

This old encyclopaedic history of medieval writers is still very useful.

Felder, H. *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden bis um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts.* Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904.

The latest, most extended and best treatment of the learning of the Minorites in the thirteenth century and their relations with the universities. See especially the third division. Valuable also for the author's appreciation of Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon.

Fitting, H. *Die Anfänge der Rechtsschule zu Bologna.* Berlin and Leipzig, 1888.

Written on the occasion of the 800th anniversary of the University of Bologna. Useful for our purpose especially for the light cast on the study of law in connection with rhetoric throughout the early Middle Ages.

Foulques de Villaret, Mlle de. "L'Enseignement des Lettres et des Sciences dans l'Orléanais jusqu' à la Fondation de l'Université d'Orléans," in *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique de l'Orléanais,* XIV (1875), 299 ff.

One of the earliest studies calling attention to the great importance of Orleans in the intellectual history of northern France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Much new material has been found since the appearance of this article.

Fournier, P. *Les Officialités au Moyen Age; Etudes sur l'Organisation, la*

Compétence et la Procédure des Tribunaus Ecclésiastiques Ordinaires en France, 1180-1328, 1880.

Pt. 1, ch. VI, contains an interesting account of notaries at work in the chanceries of church and state. This book is out of print and rather difficult to obtain.

FOURNIER, M. *Histoire de la Science du Droit en France.* 3 Vols. Paris, 1892.

Vol. III contains an account of French universities and the teaching of law in France in the Middle Ages.

FOURNIER, M. "Les Bibliothèques des Collèges de l'Université de Toulouse," in *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes,* LI (1890), 443-476.

FOURNIER, M. "La Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Orléans," in *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français* (1890), 143 ff.

Such special studies of medieval libraries are all too few at present. These articles should be brought in conjunction with Gottlieb, *Über Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken,* which see, and Becker, G. *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui.* Bonn, 1885.

FRANKE, K. *Zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Schulpoesie des XII and XIII Jahrhunderts,* München, 1879.

Valuable for a study of the ancient classics during these centuries.

GASQUET, F. A. "English Scholarship in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Dublin Review,* 123 (1898), 356-373.

Discusses especially John of Salisbury, Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon. Upholds that the thirteenth century was essentially scientific. The importance of the date 1204 (establishment of the Latin Kingdom in Constantinople) for the study of Greek in the West is much exaggerated.

GATIEN-ARNOULT. "Jean de Garlande" in *Revue de Toulouse,* XXIII (1866), 177-237.

One of the earliest papers which called attention to the importance of the life and work of John Garland.

GAUDENZI, A. "Sulla Cronologia delle Opere dei Dettatori Bolognesi da Buoncompagno a Bene di Lucca," in *Bullettino del' Istituto Storico Italiano.* No. 14, Roma (1895), 85-174.

The most recent special account of the *ars dictaminis* at Bologna. Although concerned chiefly with the chronology of the life and works of the chief *dictatores,* Boncompagno, Guido Faba and Bene, Gaudenzi contributes also a good deal to the general history of the art.

GHIRARDACCI. *Della Historia di Bologna.* 2 Parts. Bologna, 1596, 1657.

This old history of the city of Bologna is full of authentic material on the great law university.

GIESEBRECHT, G. *De Litterarum Studiis apud Italos.* Berolini, 1845.

Was valuable for calling attention especially to the study of the classics in Italy before Petrarch.

GIRY, A. *Manuel de Diplomatique.* Paris, 1894.

Useful for the study of the *ars dictaminis* and *ars notaria.* See especially Book V, *Les Chancelleries,* and Book VI, Ch. I, *Les Notaires Publics.*

GOTTLIEB, T. *Über Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken.* Leipzig, 1890.

Contains brief descriptions of the contents of catalogues of medieval libraries. Although the author says that he has made but a beginning in this work, his book is very solid and useful. However, a good deal more must be done along this line before we can judge accurately the knowledge of the ancient classics during the Middle Ages. See above under Fournier, M. "La Bibliothèque de l'Univ. de Orléans."

GRAF, A. *Roma nella Memoria e nelle Immaginazioni del Medio Evo.* 2 Vols. Torino, 1882-3.

Reveals a good deal of humanistic feeling in the Middle Ages before the time of Petrarch.

GRÖBER, G. *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie.* 2 Vols., 4 parts. Strassburg, 1888-1902.

Vol. II, Pt. 1, 97-432, contains a survey of Latin literature from the middle of the sixth century to 1350. A standard work famous for its accuracy.

GÜNTHER, S. *Geschichte des Mathematischen Unterrichts im Deutschen Mittelalter bis zum Jahre* 1525. Berlin, 1887. (*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica,* III).

Very scholarly. In its special field it decidedly amplifies Cantor, *Vorlesungen,* which see.

HABEL. "Johannes de Garlandia," in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungsgeschichte,* 1909.

HASKINS, C. H. "Life of Medieval Students as Seen in Their Letters," in *American Historical Review,* III, 203-229.

Professor Haskins has been very successful in utilizing the numerous extant but for the most part unpublished collections of forms for student letters. Incidentally, in the foot-notes, there are many bibliographical references useful for a study of the *ars dictaminis.*

HASKINS, C. H. "The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century," in *American Historical Review,* X (1904), 1-27.

See above under Bourgain.

HAUPT, M. "Über das *Registrum multorum auctorum* von Hugo von Trimberg v. J. 1280)," in *Bericht der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften aus dem Jahre* 1854, 142-164.

See above under Hugo of Trimberg.

HAURÉAU, M. "Notices sur les Oeuvres Authentique ou Supposées de Jean de Garlande," in *Notices et Extraits,* XXVII, pt. 2 (1869), 1-86.

Still the best critical study of the works of John Garland.

Hauréau, B. *Histoire de Philosophie Scolastique.* 3 Vols. Paris, 1872-80.

Has not been wholly superseded as the standard history of scholasticism. Consult, however, the books of De Wulf.

Heeren, A. H. L. *Geschichte der Classischen Literatur im Mittelalter.* 2 Vols. Göttingen, 1822.

This book which was so useful in the past is practically superseded now by special works of more recent date.

Hervieux, L. *Les Fabulistes Latins depuis le Siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la Fin du Moyen Age.* 5 Vols. Paris, 1893-1899.

The most recent and by far the best work on the subject. Valuable for extended accounts of certain readers containing fables which were popular in the schools of the Middle Ages and were taught in connection with grammar. The most important of the original texts appear in full.

Histoire Littéraire de la France. Ouvrage commencé par des religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de St. Maur (to Vol. XI), et continué par des membres de l'Institut (from Vol. XII to date). 33 Vols. Paris, 1733-1906.

The monumental literary history of France by many authors, still in progress of publication. Naturally portions of the earlier volumes have long since gone out of date, but the work as a whole will probably never cease to be useful.

Jourdain, A. *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote, et sur les Commentaires Grecs ou Arabes employés par les Docteurs Scolastique.* Paris, 1819. 2nd ed. 1843.

This book revolutionized ideas about the influence of the works of Aristotle in the Middle Ages. It has been supplemented but not entirely supplanted. See especially Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant.* For a recent bibliography of books on translations of philosophical and scientific works (mostly those of Aristotle) from the Arabic, see Haskins, "A List of Text-Books," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* XX (1909), 86, n. 1.

Jourdain, Ch. *Excursions Historiques et Philosophiques à travers le Moyen Age.* Paris, 1888.

Contains various articles on Aristotle in the Middle Ages, one on Roger Bacon, etc.

Kämmel, O. "Die Universitäten im Mittelalter," in Schmid, *Geschichte der Erziehung.* Stuttgart, 1892, II, pt. 1, 334-548.

A general account based largely on the best secondary authorities.

Kaufman, G. *Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten.* 2 Vols. Stuttgart, 1886, 1896.

The standard special work on German universities in the Middle Ages.

KORTING, G. *Geschichte der Literatur Italiens im Zeitalter der Renaissance.* 3 Vols. Leipzig, 1884.

Vol. III is devoted entirely to the medieval precursors of the Italian Renaissance.

KREY, A. C. "John of Salisbury's Attitude towards the Classics," in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters,* Madison. Vol. XVI, Part II (1909), 948-987.

A master's thesis, University of Wisconsin. It supplements Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis.*

LAISNE, A. M. "Notice Biographique sur Alexandre de Villedieu," in *Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie, de Littérature, Sciences et Arts d'Avranches,* II (1856).

One of the earliest special studies on Alexander of Villedieu which have helped to rescue him from obscurity.

LALANDE, A. "Histoire des Sciences. La Physique du Moyen Age," in *Revue de Synthèse Historique,* VII (1903), 191-218.

For a good bibliography of physics and sciences in general in the Middle Ages consult the foot-notes, *passim.*

LANGLOIS, Ch. V. *Questions d'Histoire et d'Enseignement.* Paris, 1902.

Contains six essays, the first of which is one on the universities of the Middle Ages. Although it is but a general sketch it is full of new and sound suggestions.

LANGLOIS, Ch. V. "L'Eloquence sacrée au Moyen Age," in *Revue des Deux Mondes,* No. 115 (1893), 170-201.

A good summary on the historical value of medieval sermons. See above, under Bourgain.

LAUDE, P. J. *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Bruges.* Bruges, 1859.

The library at Bruges contains many of the works of John Garland and Alexander of Villedieu, which are listed and described in this catalog.

LAVISSE, E. (ed). *Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Revolution.* Paris, 1903 ff. Many vols. In process of publication.

LAVISSE ET RAMBAUD. (eds). *Histoire Générale.* 12 Vols. Paris, 1893-1901.

These well-known French manuals are useful for our purpose especially because of their convenient bibliographies.

LE CLERC, V. *Discours sur l'Etat des Lettres en France au 14e Siècle.* Paris, 1865.

This excellent study of fourteenth century literature in France has been separately printed from *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* XXIV, 1-602.

LECOY DE LA MARCHE, A. *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age.* Paris, 1868. 2nd ed. 1886.

See above under Bourgain. Pt. III, ch. V, 450-467, treats of students and education; Ch. VI, 467-491, of letters, sciences and arts.

Legrand d'Aussy. "La Bataille des Sept Arts, Fiction Critique et Satirique," in *Notices et Extraits,* V, 496-510.

An extended abstract of Henri d'Andeli's *Battle of the Seven Arts,* with notes and comments, which are not all reliable.

Loomis, Louise R. *Medieval Hellenism.* Lancaster, Pa., 1906.

A doctor's thesis, Columbia University. A general sketch covering rather hastily the whole Middle Ages preparatory for a work on the study of Greek during the Italian Renaissance. Apparently the author did not see Cuissard, *L'Etude du Grec à Orléans* (see above), and Tougard, *L'Hellènisme dans les Ecrivains du Moyen Age.* Paris, 1886.

Loserth, J. *Geschichte des Späteren Mittelalters, von* 1197 *bis* 1492. München and Berlin, 1903. In *Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte,* von Below und Meinecke. Abth. II. Politische Geschichte.

Although a political history, its bibliographies are sometimes valuable for a history of medieval culture.

Luchaire, A. *L'Université de Paris sous Philip le Bel.* Paris, 1899.

A short sketch on the political history of the university.

Luquet, G. H. *Aristote et l'Université de Paris pendant les XIIIe Siècle.* Paris, 1904. Also in *Bibliothèque de L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuses,* XVI, 2.

The most recent contribution to the history of the introduction of the "New Aristotle" into the University of Paris. This is a preparatory study for a history of the works of Aristotle in the Middle Ages upon which the author is working.

Lyte, M. *A History of the University of Oxford from the earliest Times to the Year* 1530. London, 1886.

A general popular account.

Maitland, S. R. *The Dark Ages:—Essays Illustrating the State of Religion and Literature.* London, 1844. Newest edition, 1890.

Although named "The Dark Ages" this book has done much to dispel this term which has led to so many misconceptions about the culture of the Middle Ages.

Maître, L. *Les Ecoles Episcopales et Monastiques de l'Occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Philippe-Auguste.* Paris, 1866.

Has been practically superseded by Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens,* which see below.

Malagola, C. *I Rettori delle Università dello Studio Bolognese.* Bologna, 1887.

A contribution to the history of the *ars dictaminis* at Bologna by one of the foremost historians of that university.

Mandonnet, P. *Siger de Brabant et L'Averroisme Latin au XIIIe Siècle.* Fribourg (Suisse), 1899.

For our purposes this excellent monograph is valuable especially for the first few chapters which contain a history of the introduction of the "New Aristotle" into western Christendom.

Manitius, M. "Beiträge zur Geschichte Römischer Dichter im Mittelalter," a series of articles in *Philologus,* XLVII-LVI and Supplement VII, 758-66.

These are some valuable preliminary studies which will be useful for future historians of the classics in the Middle Ages. See above under Comparetti.

Marshall, T. "The Life and Writings of Roger Bacon," and "The Philosophy of Roger Bacon," in Westminster Review, LXXXI (1864), 1-14; 237-253.

These two articles were written partly in the nature of reviews of the following books on Roger Bacon which had then but recently appeared: Brewer, *Rogeri Bacon, Opera;* Charles, *Roger Bacon;* and Pouchet, *Histoire des Sciences Naturelles au Moyen Age,* which see.

Masius, H. "Die Erziehung im Mittelalter," in Schmid, *Geschichte der Erziehung,* Stuttgart, 1892, II, pt. 1, 94-333.

An account in nature similar to that of Kämel, *"Die Universitäten,"* which see above.

Meier, G. *Die Sieben freien Künste im Mittelalter.* Einsiedeln, 1885-1887. Programme des Benediktiner Stiftes Maria-Einsiedeln. 1 Heft (Trivium), 1885-86; 2 Heft (Quadrivium), 1886-87.

Although a mere "Programme" this little study is full of new side lights on the seven liberal arts.

Michael, E. *Culturzustände des Deutschen Volkes während des Dreizehnten Jahrhunderts.* 3 Vols. Freiburg, 1897-1903.

Michael is an ultra Roman Catholic. The work is based upon very extended research in the sources.

Molinier, A. *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France.* Première Partie, Origines-1494. 6 Vols. Paris, 1901-1906.

Molinier, A. "Etude sur l'Organisation de l'Université de Toulouse, au Quatorzième et au Quinzième Siècle (1309-1450)," in Devic et Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc,* VII, 570-608.

An extensive note written on the basis of the documents on the University of Toulouse published in that same volume.

Morand. "Questions d'Histoire Littéraire au Sujet du Doctrinale," in *Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Departements,* XIIIe Série, II, (Paris, 1863), 50-59.

Brought out a few new facts to supplement Thurot, *De Alexandri de Villa Dei Doctrinali,* which see.

Mortreuil, J. A. B. *L'Ancienne Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de St. Victor.* Marseilles, 1854.

Prints a list of books of this monastery (1195-1198) which probably faithfully reflects the studies pursued at that time at Marseilles. The list includes a fair number of Latin classics.

MULLINGER, J. B. *University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times.* Cambridge, 1888.

Comes down to the middle of the sixteenth century.

MUNRO, D. C. "The Attitude of the Western Church toward the Study of the Latin Classics in the Early Middle Ages," in *American Society of Church History,* VIII (1897).

MUNRO, D. C. "The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1906, Vol. I, 43-50.

A short but very suggestive paper read before the American Historical Association.

NARBEY, C. "Le Moine Roger Bacon et le Mouvement Scientifique au XIIIe Siècle," in *Revue de Questions Historiques,* XXXV (1884), 115-165.

A long general account but based largely on the sources.

NEUDECKER, K. J. *Das Doctrinale des Alexanders de Villa Dei und der Lateinischer Unterricht während des Späteren Mittelalters in Deutschland.* Programme der Städt. Realschule zu Pirma, 1885.

Based largely on Thurot, *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, and now entirely superseded by Reichling, *Das Doctrinale.*

NORDEN, E. *Die Antike Kunstprosa vom 6ten Jahrhundert vor Christus bis in die Zeit der Renaissance.* 2 Vols. Leipzig, 1898.

Our period is comprised in the second volume. A remarkably good estimate of the classics during the Middle Ages. Attempts to bridge the gap which apparently cuts Petrarch off from the centuries which precede him. Unlike many classical philologists, Norden has taken the trouble to acquaint himself directly with the important medieval sources.

NOVATI, F. *L'Influsso del Pensiero Latino Sopra la Civiltà Italiana del Medio Evo.* 2nd edition. Milano, 1899.

See chapter VIII for the *ars dictaminis.*

PAETOW, L. J. "The Neglect of the Ancient Classics at the Early Medieval Universities" in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters,* XVI, Pt. 1 (1908), 311-319.

Contains the gist of the first chapter of this book.

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An exceedingly serviceable book of reference because hitherto there has been no such manual in English. The second edition is fairly accurate. It was called forth partly by the rather scathing review of the first edition by Hamilton, G. L., in the *American Journal of Philology,* 25 (1904), 447 ff. Recently (1908) a second and third volume have appeared which take the history of the subject from the beginning of the revival of learning to the nineteenth century.

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Depicts the personality of Boncompagno very well but gives a very inadequate idea of the *ars dictaminis* which he taught. It should be checked up constantly by the article of Gaudenzi described above.

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This is a doctor's thesis, University of Paris, and was a remarkable piece of work for its time. It is still useful today.

THUROT, C. *De Alexandri de Villa Dei Doctrinali Eiusque Fatis.* Paris, 1850.

This companion monograph to the above was scarcely less brilliant

and once again brought Alexander of Villedieu into notice after he had been shelved for centuries by the humanists. It should be supplemented by what the author has himself added or corrected in *Notices et Extraits,* XXII, pt. 2. It cannot be wholly discarded even now that Reichling has furnished such a fine study of Alexander in *Das Doctrinale.*

THUROT. "Documents Relatif à l'Histoire de la Poésie Latine au Moyen Age," in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions,* VI (1870), 259-269.

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VIDAL. *Histoire de la Ville de Perpignan.* Paris, 1897.

It is the best history of the city and is quoted because it contains some references to the early history of the University of Perpignan.

VOIGT, E. "Das Erste Lesebuch des Triviums in den Kloster- und Stiftsschulen des Mittelalters," in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Erziehung und Schulgeschichte.* Jahrgang I, Heft I (Berlin, 1891), 42-53.

An interesting account of the *Cato, Aesop* and *Avianus* so extensively read in medieval schools.

VOIGT, G. *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums.* 2 Vols. 3rd ed. Berlin, 1893.

This excellent work on the revival of learning is valuable for us especially for its account of the sporadic revival of classical letters at the University of Paris in the fourteenth century. In the introductory chapter Voigt takes a narrow view of the study of the classics during the Middle Ages.

WATTENBACH, W. *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter.* Leipzig, 1871. 3rd ed. 1896.

Useful for a study of the *ars dictaminis.*

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